

**Urban Society and the English Revolution; the Archaeology of the New  
Jerusalem**

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## **Abstract**

The English Revolution has long been a defining subject of English historiography, with a large and varied literature that reflects continuing engagement with the central themes of civil conflict, and deep-rooted social, political and religious change. By contrast, this period has failed to catch the imagination of archaeologists. This research seeks to understand the world of the English Revolution through its material expression in English towns.

Identifying the material expressions of the period is central to developing an archaeological understanding of the period. The clearest material expressions are found, in the fortifications that were built to protect towns, the destruction that was wrought on towns and in the reconstruction of the material world of English towns.

Towns, like any other artefact, have their meanings. These meanings are multivalent and ever shifting, defined by the interaction of their material fabric and those who experience it. As these meanings change over time, they can be traced through the structures and artefacts of the town, and through the myths and legends that accrete on them. Understanding the interactions of material, myth and memory allows archaeologists to understand the true meaning of the urban built environment to generate a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the nature of the English urban culture of the period.

Towns were fundamental to the English imagination as much as they were economically, politically or socially important. The English Revolution sits at the heart of the accepted conception of historical archaeology, but has been curiously neglected by historical archaeologists. The cultural conflict of this period embodies the themes



that are central to historical archaeology, and nowhere is this more apparent than in urban culture.

*Dedicated to the Memory of Kennedy Thom*

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## Table of Contents

<b>Chapter 1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction .....	1
1.2 Central Research Question .....	1
1.3 Revolution, Civil War and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms .....	2
1.4 Materiality in Early Modern English Towns .....	6
1.5 English Civil War Archaeology .....	9
1.6 The Sources .....	15
1.7 Methodology: using Historical Archaeology to understand the English Revolution .....	19
1.8 Research Design .....	21
<b>Chapter 2. Historical Archaeology and the English Revolution .....</b>	<b>26</b>
2.1 What is Historical Archaeology? .....	26
2.2 The Development of Historical Archaeology: British and American Approaches Compared .....	28
2.3 Convergence: Historical Archaeology as a Study of the Modern World? .....	38
2.4 Historical Archaeology as a Technique .....	40
2.5 The English Revolution in the Modern World .....	43
2.6 The English Revolution in Context .....	49
<b>Chapter 3. Meaning, Civic Mentalities and Fortification .....</b>	<b>51</b>
3.1 Introduction .....	51
3.2 English Civil War Fortifications; Existing Approaches .....	51
3.3 Archaeology, Architecture and Cultural Change .....	58
3.4 Civic Culture, Engagement and Government .....	63
3.5 Material Expressions in Early-Modern Towns .....	65
3.6 Fortifications, Discourse and Resistance .....	76
3.7 Conclusion: Materiality, Discourse and Urban Society .....	81
<b>Chapter 4. Fortification .....</b>	<b>83</b>

4.1 The Cultural Significance of Fortification .....	84
4.2 The Refortification of Newcastle .....	97
4.3 Urban Fortifications and the Community .....	107
4.4 Interpretations and Typologies .....	116
4.5 Expediency and Culture: Geometry, Enclosure and the Modern .....	119
4.6 Conclusions .....	130
<b>Chapter 5. The Siege and the storm .....</b>	<b>131</b>
5.1 The Process of the Siege.....	131
5.2 The Archaeology of a Siege: Understanding the Material Evidence. ....	141
5.3 Understanding the Cultural Meaning of Sieges .....	151
5.4 The Frequency of Sieges .....	158
5.5 The Progress of the Siege.....	159
5.6 Meaningful Movements .....	161
5.7 Conclusions: The Siege and the Material Legacy of War .....	165
<b>Chapter 6. Destruction.....</b>	<b>171</b>
6.1 Historiography of Destruction.....	171
6.2 Military Damage.....	174
6.3 Quantifying the damage .....	178
6.4 Deliberate Damage.....	180
6.5 ‘Defensive’ Damage.....	184
6.6 Economic Warfare and Pillaging.....	186
6.7 Creation of meaning.....	187
6.8 Humpty Dumpty Sat on a Wall.....	193
6.9 Conclusion: Destruction, Warchitecture and Meaning.....	204
<b>Chapter 7. Reconstruction .....</b>	<b>206</b>
7.1 Introduction .....	206
7.2 Construction and Reconstruction in Newcastle.....	207

7.3 Colonial Construction.....	222
7.4 Military Reconstruction: The End of the Medieval Town?.....	228
7.5 The Materiality of Monarchy .....	239
7.6 Ecclesiastical Reconstruction.....	246
7.7 Conclusions .....	257
<b>Chapter 8. Urban Biographies, Revolutionary Pasts.....</b>	<b>259</b>
8.1 Artefact Biography .....	260
8.2 The Revolutionary Past?.....	263
8.3 Colchester: Urban Myth and the Legacies of War .....	268
<b>Chapter 9. Conclusions .....</b>	<b>277</b>
9.1 Of History and Archaeology .....	277
9.2 The use of archaeological evidence and methods to understand the English Revolution .....	279
9.4 Reading the English Revolution in the Context of Post-1492 Historical Archaeology .....	309
9.5 Towards the Archaeology of Revolution.....	316
9.6 Conclusion.....	322
<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>324</b>
Published Sources .....	324
Other Printed Primary Sources.....	352
Archival Sources .....	353

## Table of Figures

Figure 1.1 The Elizabethan walls of Berwick-upon-Tweed - The curtain and Brass Bastion.....	7
Figure 1.2 Detail from Speed's (1612) map of Colchester showing the damaged town wall at Northgate Street.....	8
Figure 2.1 The gatehouse of Capetown Castle. Compare with the gatehouse of Tilbury Fort (Figure 7.9) (Vincent Steenberg, via Wikimedia Commons) .....	45
Figure 3.1 Fortification as urban planning - Berlin in 1688 (Staatsbibliothek Berlin, via Wikimedia Commons) .....	55
Figure 3.2 Plan of Breda (Blaeu 1652) .....	58
Figure 3.3 Altar and rails installed at the Church of St Mary, Puddletown after the visitation of 1637 (Trish Steel, via Wikimedia Commons) .....	67
Figure 3.4 The arrival of Queen Mary of France, mother of Henrietta Maria in Colchester, 1638 (Colchester Libraries Local Studies) .....	70
Figure 3.5 Speed's (1612) map of Newcastle upon Tyne, showing the extent of suburbs to the West (Westgate), north-west (Newgate), and North (Pilgrim Street Gate). The riverfront suburbs of Closegate (West) and Sandgate (East) appear to have been more extensive than shown by Speed. ....	78
Figure 4.1 Title page of Hobbes' Leviathan (Waller 1904, f.p. viii).....	84
Figure 4.2 Title page of Ruse's Strengthening of Strongholds (1668).....	89
Figure 4.3 The naming of the parts; significant elements of mid-17th century fortification .....	90
Figure 4.4 Comparative sketch plans of bastions of the Dutch (top), French (centre) and Italian/Spanish (bottom) Schools of fortification. Not to scale. ....	92
Figure 4.5 Map of Newcastle, showing the location of sites noted in the text .....	96
Figure 4.6 Map of Newcastle 1639 (Welford 1887, 232). The original of this map is now in the National Archives (MPF 1/287).....	99
Figure 4.7 The fortifications of Oxford in 1643 (NB this map is shown upside down so that it is in the same alignment as figure 4.8 and 6.4) Bodleian Library Wood 276 b.fol. xxx) .....	113



Figure 4.8 The fortifications of Oxford as planned in 1643 - the Parliamentary siegeworks are visible to the east of the town (Bodleian Library MS. Top. Oxon b. 167) .....	114
Figure 4.9 Conceptions of the modern, geometry and order in fortification (Stevens 1688) .....	120
Figure 4.10 Bellaghy Bawn, County Londonderry. (Cormac Duffin, via Wikimedia Commons).....	126
Figure 5.1 Map of Colchester showing location of sites noted in the text .....	135
Figure 5.2 The Colchester Siege Map (Colchester Library Local Studies Section).....	137
Figure 5.3 Possible Second English Civil War ditches at Mersea Road, Colchester (Colchester Archaeological Trust).....	139
Figure 5.4 Detail of the Siege Map showing siegeworks at Sheepen (Colchester Library Local Studies Section).....	140
Figure 5.5 Material evidence: one of the few site drawings available in the Sheepen archive.....	142
Figure 5.6 ‘Cromwellian’ material from Sheepen plotted by identifiable location (numbers refer to Hawkes and Hull’s ‘Regions’, site sub-divisions that were adopted in post-excavation) .....	145
Figure 5.7 ‘Cromwellian’ material from Sheepen plotted by Area.....	147
Figure 5.8 Aerial photograph of the Sheepen fort (Courtesy Colchester Archaeological Trust) .....	149
Figure 5.9 Comparative profiles of the offensive works at Newark (after RCHM 1964). From top: the profile shown on Clampe’s map, representative section of the circumvallation, Colonel Grey’s Sconce. The profile of the ramparts of the Queen’s Sconce, a defensive work, is shown at the bottom for comparison. ....	152
Figure 5.10 Reconstruction of the Parliamentary gun batteries at Sheepen (Courtesy Colchester and Ipswich Museums) .....	154
Figure 5.11 The Surrender of York to the Roundheads by Ernest Croft.....	162
Figure 6.1 Title image from <i>A Great and Bloudy Fight at Colchester</i> (Colchester Libraries) .....	171

Figure 6.2 The site of the Orchard Street mine, Newcastle upon Tyne .....	176
Figure 6.3 Damaged section of town wall at Balkerne Lane, Colchester.....	183
Figure 6.4 Loggan's map of Oxford, 1675 showing surviving elements of the defensive circuit to the north of the town - this map was originally drawn with South to the top, and has been inverted for ease of comparison (Bodleian Library: (E) C17:70 Oxford (12); compare with figures 4.7 and 4.8). .....	189
Figure 6.5 The Church of St Mary-at-the-Walls, Colchester, looking across Balkerne Hill. The Roman town wall is visible in front of the church.....	195
Figure 6.6 St Mary-at-the-Walls, Colchester from the South showing the rebuilt upper section of tower.....	197
Figure 6.7 The Siege House: 'bullet holes' have been carefully picked out in red paint .....	200
Figure 6.8 The Siege House in context. Note the 16 <sup>th</sup> and 17 <sup>th</sup> -century house on East Street beyond the Siege House.....	201
Figure 6.9 The church of St Leonard at the Hythe (background). The house in the foreground is 15 <sup>th</sup> -century (National Heritage List entry 1133720). .....	202
Figure 6.10 The door of the church of St Leonard .....	203
Figure 7.1 Cosyn's House, built c. 1655 (Boyle 1890, f.p. 170). Cosyn was amongst the Godly in the town, being described, with others as having been '...in nature of Agents for Presbytery, endeavouring to bring the Scots into this nation...' (Boyle 1890, 171) .....	210
Figure 7.2 Mid 17 <sup>th</sup> -century houses on Sandhill, Newcastle. The Guildhall is at the right of the image.....	211
Figure 7.3 The interior of the Newcastle Guildhall (Boyle 1890, f.p. 22).....	217
Figure 7.4 Holy Jesus Hospital (Boyle 1890, f.p. 269).....	218
Figure 7.5 The Keelmen's Hospital (Boyle 1890, f.p. 154).....	219
Figure 7.6 Penn's plan of Philadelphia from Holme 1683.....	226
Figure 7.7 Plan of Tournai, showing the Citadel, built in 1674 after the fall of the city to the French (Boyer 1701). .....	231

Figure 7.8 Castello Plan of New Amsterdam (1660) (Cortelyou, Jacques, "Afbeeldinge van de Stadt Amsterdam in Nieuw Neederlandt," in CU Libraries Exhibitions , Item #3508, <a href="https://ldpd.lamp.columbia.edu/omeka/exhibits/show/stokes/vol_2/item/3508">https://ldpd.lamp.columbia.edu/omeka/exhibits/show/stokes/vol_2/item/3508</a> (accessed June 4, 2012) .....	233
Figure 7.9 Tilbury fort gatehouse. Compare with Figure 2.1 (Courtesy Danny McL: <a href="http://www.flickr.com/photos/dmcl/433720241/">http://www.flickr.com/photos/dmcl/433720241/</a> ) .....	237
Figure 7.10 The Charing and Cheapside Crosses in 1641 (Peacham 1641). ....	239
Figure 7.11 Hubris: the execution of Charles I at the Banqueting House, Whitehall and the quartering of the regicides (Thomason 247: 669.f.26[31]).....	240
Figure 7.12 The statue of Charles I at Charing Cross (Courtesy David Fisher, <a href="http://www.flickr.com/photos/dfisher81/4546650706/">http://www.flickr.com/photos/dfisher81/4546650706/</a> ) .....	242
Figure 7.13 Holy Trinity, Staunton Harold .....	250
Figure 7.14 Holy Trinity, Berwick upon Tweed .....	252
Figure 7.15 The doorway, Holy Trinity, Staunton Harold .....	253
Figure 8.1 The entrance to the St George's Hill Estate (Courtesy Hazel Simpson, <a href="http://www.flickr.com/photos/moley75/2806037493/">http://www.flickr.com/photos/moley75/2806037493/</a> ) .....	269
Figure 8.2 St John's Abbey Gatehouse, restored during the 19th century .....	272
Figure 8.3 The Lucas and Lisle Memorial in Castle Park, Colchester .....	275
Figure 9.1 The statue of Charles II at Lichfield Cathedral.....	305
Figure 9.2 King Charles House, Newcastle, seen shortly before its demolition in 1967 in front of the tower block of the same name (Newcastle Libraries).....	322

## **Table of Tables**

Table 1.1 Aims and Objectives .....	22
Table 2.1 Differences between British and American Historical Archaeology .....	29
Table 4.1 Typologies of fortification divided by allegiance.....	119
Table 5.1 ‘Cromwellian’ finds from Sheepen by Area .....	146
Table 5.2 Recorded English Civil War Sieges (after Gaunt 1987).....	167

## **Chapter 1. Introduction**

### **1.1 Introduction**

This research seeks to write a new historical archaeology of the English Revolution, and more specifically to understand the world of the English Revolution through its material expression in English towns. While the English Revolution has long been a defining issue within British historiography, it has never been meaningfully explored through its material culture. This omission of the political cataclysm at the heart of 17<sup>th</sup>-century England is perhaps understandable, but represents a series of lost opportunities for archaeological study. Material culture studies have the potential to contribute to the this period, which is ever-fascinating, but remains elusive. Possibly more significantly, this research has offered opportunities to consider the relationship between the narratives derived from material culture and those drawn from the documentary record, and to query some of the theoretical assumptions inherent in current conceptions of historical archaeology.

### **1.2 Central Research Question**

When I completed my Master's dissertation in October 1998, I thought I had closed the door on my interest in the archaeology of the crisis at the heart of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Over the following years, I became increasingly aware of an unexplained cultural shift that profoundly changed English urban life that had neither been explained nor even explored, but simply accepted. To express the most obvious material manifestation of this cultural change simply, before the Civil War, England's major towns were generally fortified. While these fortifications were often dilapidated, the first response to the impending conflict was usually to repair these defences or to create new defensive circuits. Of the 25 largest towns in England in 1660 (McInnes 1980, 6), at least 20 were fortified during the Civil War. Royal and Parliamentary proclamations called on towns

to defend themselves, and local groups could also call for defences to be prepared. In many cases, these repairs were not completed and possibly even never begun, but even so, there was a clear contemporary debate about their effectiveness (Harrington 2004, 61). After the Restoration, town fortifications were the exception. When Bernard de Gomme and Martin Beckman rebuilt England's south and east coast fortifications for Charles II, the emphasis moved to detached forts such as the Citadels at Plymouth and Hull, apparently placed as much to control the town as to protect it (Stoyle 1998; Foreman and Goodhand 1997).

In archaeological interpretation, this dramatic change to the urban landscape suggests a fundamental change in the nature of the society that lived in these towns, how they used their towns and how they perceived the world around them. During the war, urban communities were pressed into the construction of fortifications and the defence of their own homes; towns became battlefields and urban society militarised. After the war, with the change in patterns of royal military construction, urban society was forcibly demilitarised. In tactical and strategic terms, little had changed. The threat of attack or invasion by the Dutch and the French remained real well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, town fortifications remained common in continental Europe, and military technology and tactics changed little over the following century (Courtney 2006). Purely pragmatic and predominantly military explanations are not enough to understand the causes and ramifications of this shift, which marked a reversal of a trend to fortify English towns that had commenced with King Alfred.

### **1.3 Revolution, Civil War and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms.**

The use of the terms 'Civil War' and 'Revolution' to describe the crisis of the 17<sup>th</sup> century has been discussed at length by historians. Neither term is entirely satisfactory.

The variety of terms used by historians to describe the period in question reflects the diversity of the period as well as of historiographical and political engagement with the period. All of these terms have specific advantages but also come with unwelcome connotations. The convention that I have used here is to refer to the wars of the period between the Solemn League and Covenant of 1638 and the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660 collectively as the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, or the Wars and individually by their more commonly accepted descriptions as set out below.

- The First Bishops' War (1639) - the abortive English military campaign in northern England and Scotland intended to bring a forcible end to the independent Scottish presbyterian movement expressed as the Solemn League and Covenant, which ended in a bloodless and uneasy truce;
- The Second Bishops' War (1640) - the Scottish Covenanter invasion of the north of England, culminating in the defeat of the English army at the Battle of Newburn, and the subsequent occupation and ransoming of Newcastle upon Tyne.
- The Irish Rising/Rebellion (1641-2) - the Catholic Irish rising against the English and Scottish settlers that is commonly accepted to have caused the collapse of Charles' Personal Rule, by forcing him to recall Parliament to permit new taxation, and by extension, the catalyst for the outbreak of civil war in England;
- The English Civil War (1642-7) - wars fought primarily in England and Wales between the respective armies of the King and Parliament with the Presbyterian Scots, commencing with Hotham's refusal to surrender Hull in 1642 and culminating in the surrender of Charles I to the Scottish Army in 1646;
- The Second English Civil War (1648) - a number of separate Royalist insurgencies and the invasion of England by Scottish forces allied to Charles I, culminating at the Siege of Colchester and the Battle of Preston;
- The Third English Civil War (1650-1) - insurgencies by English Royalists with support from the Scottish Covenanters, resulting in the defeat of the Covenanters at Dunbar in 1650 and Charles' forces at Worcester the following year (collectively referring to the English Civil War, Second English Civil War and the Third English Civil War as the English Civil Wars);

- The Irish Confederate Wars (1642-8) - wars fought in Ireland by the Confederates, a loose confederation which developed from the Rising/Rebellion to include a broader grouping of English and Anglo-Irish Protestant Royalists as well as Catholics and which had concluded a truce with the English Royalists, against the predominantly Scottish Covenanter armies in Ireland;
- The Scottish Civil War (1644-5) - armed conflict between the Scottish Royalists and the Covenanters resulting in the defeat of Montrose's Royalist Scots and Irish Confederates at the battle of Philiphaugh;
- Cromwellian Campaigns in Ireland (1649-53) - the brutal campaigns in Ireland which resulted in the eventual defeat of the Irish Confederate forces; and
- The Scottish Risings (1651-5) - relatively small-scale insurgencies in the Scottish Highlands against the Cromwellian forces led by Monck that resulted in the construction of a network of Citadels across Scotland.

Even the perspective of the Three Kingdoms is partial; conflicts in the Americas that reflected the political divisions of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms include the 1644-6 'Plundering Time' in Maryland, the suspected involvement of the Puritans in stirring up the Powhatan risings of 1644-6, ongoing skirmishes between largely Royalist Newfoundlanders and the Puritan New Englanders and the 1651 surrender of Barbados to the Commonwealth.

Furthermore, the influence of the 30 Years War, both in terms of military experience and its impact on the popular imagination, cannot be underestimated. In addition the dynastic allegiances of Charles I with the Catholic French and Charles II with the Dutch Republic, the subsequent exile of Charles II and much of the Royal Court in the Low Countries and the growing imperial ambitions of the Protectorate, the Dutch Republic and the Restored Monarchy had a very real influence on events in England. These factors led to a very real fear of war with continental European nations that were



realised in 1652 with the outbreak of the First Anglo-Dutch War, which opened a conflict that spread across the third quarter of the 17th century.

I have used 'English Revolution' in discussing long-term cultural change within England across the period of this study to identify a process that could almost be regarded as the materiality of an episteme change in a Foucauldian sense. I have not used it, on the other hand, in any class-based or Marxian sense. A class-based understanding of the Revolution is at best a flawed and partial characterisation of events. One key concern is to avoid the Anglocentrism that is implicit in the term 'English Revolution', which I use to describe events in England. While my research focuses on the cultural changes in England, which I discuss in terms of the English Revolution, events and cultural changes outside England were pivotal, having direct and often radical ramifications within England. Just as events in England had consequences in the wider world as a result of England's colonial projects and political influence, so developments in the wider world affected not only the cultural context in which the English Revolution took place but could have directly influence the course of events. Key examples of this interchange include the connections between the Puritan communities of England and those of New England; the experience of the 30 Year's War and the political and religious conflicts within Ireland and Scotland. Acknowledging these connections allows the cultural context of the English Revolution to be more fully understood and acknowledges the holistic view of the cultural world of the 17<sup>th</sup> century that is fundamental to historical archaeological approaches to the period.

## **1.4 Materiality in Early Modern English Towns**

Understanding the material culture of English towns on the eve of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms is essential; it allows the extent of change during the English Revolution to be understood, and the early appearance of themes that became central to the Revolution to be identified. This topic is one that has not been previously addressed by archaeologists, and it is useful to develop an understanding of the cultural and material worlds of the English town.

### ***1.4.1 Civic Building and Material Culture***

Ironically, the fullest explorations of English 17<sup>th</sup>-century civic society through material culture are by historians. Tittler's (1991) study of the growing importance of the town hall before the Civil War suggested that there was a close correlation between grants of incorporation and construction or conversion of town halls. These buildings acted as the seat of local government, as the gateway between the urban community and the outside world and as the focus for complex and meaningful acts of civic ritual. As the nature of oligarchic rule changed during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, so did the structures of the town hall and, more importantly, the way in which it was used (Tittler 1991). In studying the growth of the 'polite' (what could almost be labelled 'Georgian' in Deetz's (1977, 62-4) terminology) urban landscape of the late-17<sup>th</sup> century, Borsay linked the growth of a new middling class with a desire to remodel the appearance and the operation of urban society expressed through the construction of idealised spaces (Borsay 2006, 107).

This argument has been echoed by recent archaeological work, most notably by Roger Leech, who has argued that the early modern urban landscape in its entirety should be viewed in terms of civic and cultural ritual, particularly processional routes (Graves 2003; Leech 1999). The town halls could be seen as places for new forms of display,

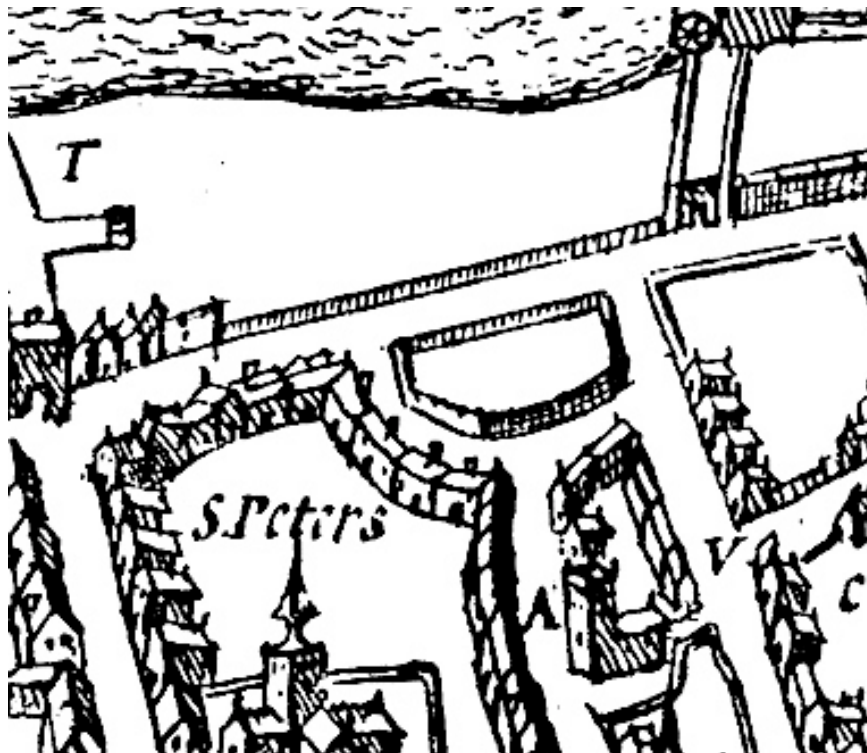
principally civic portraits and civic regalia (Tittler 1991). Trappings of power and buildings, as well as detailed urban histories and foundation myths, were used to emphasize the antiquity, legitimacy and power of the new civic authorities.



**Figure 1.1 The Elizabethan walls of Berwick-upon-Tweed - The curtain and Brass Bastion**

The major towns of England were walled towns. These ranged from derelict boundaries that had seen no military action since the first millennium AD, through massive medieval walls that still formed very real military defences, to Berwick-upon-Tweed's bastioned circuit of stone and earth walls, provided at great expense during the reign of Elizabeth. Nineteen of the 25 most populous English towns (McInnes 1980, 6) had surviving medieval or Roman walls. There is evidence that many of these walls were

suffering from neglect. Buildings could be built up against them, or new gateways knocked through them. John Speed's map of Colchester in 1612 shows the hundred-metre section of wall along Northgate Street as missing, and in 1648 the Royalist army complained that the town was indefensible as a result of its walls being dilapidated (Carter 1650, 142). These walls, however, continued to form important spatial and conceptual boundaries.



**Figure 1.2 Detail from Speed's (1612) map of Colchester showing the damaged town wall at Northgate Street.**

One of the results of the presence of town walls was the conceptual distinction between urban and suburban. Historical studies of comparative wealth and residential patterns show that there appears to have been a clear distinction between the areas of a town enclosed by walls and the undefended area outside (e.g Corfield 1976; Langton 1975). Taxation records show that the areas within the walls generally remained the preserve of the wealthy at this time, and that the suburbs were inhabited by the poor. Within the walls of a town, clear zones of wealth could exist, with areas clustered around the

markets - or in Newcastle's case, the Quayside - being of particular value (Langton 1975, 197).

#### ***1.4.2 Continuity and Change***

In material terms, the early modern town in England appears generally to have been the product of the later Middle Ages. The leading provincial towns in 1670, with the sole exception of Manchester, had been important medieval centres (McInnes 1980, 4).

While the relative standings of towns varied over time and some clearly declined during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the urban landscape had clear roots in the medieval society that had produced them. Before the Civil War, the majority of these twenty-five towns still had some vestiges of the medieval town walls that separated them from their suburbs. The geography of civic and ecclesiastical government was largely based on medieval settlements. Even where charters had been granted, or former church lands taken in by private or civic owners, the structure and patterns of land ownership were based on much older precedent. Leaving aside debates about the exact place of the town in society, there was a clear physical link between the urban society that entered the Civil War and its medieval ancestor. This should come as no surprise; the fundamental conservatism of the discourse of the 17<sup>th</sup> century placed a huge reliance on the importance of tradition and continuity. Innovation, particularly in ecclesiastical matters, was used as a pejorative term (see pages 63-4 below), but this conservative discourse belies the deep-rooted changes that were occurring within urban government and society.

### **1.5 English Civil War Archaeology**

#### ***1.5.1 The State of the Discipline***

In stark contrast to historical studies, the archaeology of the English Civil War has not generated a large body of literature. In the academic year 2005-6, including myself,

there were two UK PhD researchers active in this field (doubling the 2004-5 total!). At the beginning of the second semester of academic year 2011-2012, the total of two remained (though by then Lila Rakoczy had found gainful employment in a History department in the USA, and her place as ‘the other’ PhD researcher had been taken by Rachel Askew, at Sheffield University). Few scholars working on the period have published either a book, or more than one article in this field. Peter Harrington is a notable exception as probably the only writer to have published an overall synthesis (Harrington 2004) with Mark Stoye (1995; 1998), Glenn Foard (1995a) and Malcolm Atkin (1991; 1998; Atkin and Laughlin 1992; Atkin and Howes 1993) having made significant contributions through local studies of the South West, East Midlands and West Midlands respectively.

### ***1.5.2 Origins***

Harrington stresses an antiquarian tradition of Civil War archaeological studies including the excavation of parts of Marston Moor by Thomas Carlyle and Dr Arnold (Harrington 2004, 81). However, the earliest modern archaeological work was that of Bryan St John O’Neil (1960), who used earthwork and buildings surveys to supplement detailed documentary and cartographic research. As can be expected from an author with a background in the Royal Commission for Historic Monuments, O’Neil’s work is rooted in studies of military architecture, and he considers the Civil War as part of the longer term development of the form and military function of fortifications. Studies of castles and fortified houses have remained popular, with excavations at Sandal (Mayes and Butler 1983), Pontefract (Roberts 2002), Beeston (Hough 1978) and Basing House (Allen and Anderson 1999, Moorhouse 1970, 1971; Peers 1909) all yielding significant evidence of Civil War period activity. The Royal Commission for Historic Monuments (RCHM) volume on Newark (1964) is another work in the same tradition, and until the

publication of Atkin and Laughlin's *Gloucester and The Civil War* (1992) stood for nearly 30 years as the most complete survey of the Civil War archaeology of any one town.

### **1.5.3 Localism**

The differences between archaeological studies of different towns correspondingly vary enormously according to local priorities and traditions. The level of detail in the research carried out into the Civil War defences of Newark (RCHM 1964) can be explained by the visual impact of surviving features such as the King's Sconce. The development of intensely local expertise that comes from an extended period of work within a single region, or even town creates strong links between researchers and their material. Mark Stoye and Malcolm Atkin have become synonymous with Civil War studies of Exeter (1995) and Plymouth (1998) and Gloucester (1991; 1992; 1993) and Worcester (1998) respectively. However, the vast majority of towns do not have a similar tradition. Only 4 of McInnes' twenty largest towns (Bristol - Russell 1995; Exeter - Stoye 1995; Plymouth - Stoye 1998; Gloucester - Atkin and Laughlin 1992) have such a published study. Archaeological investigations in a further 2 of these major towns, Leicester (Courtney and Courtney 1992) and Newcastle (Ellison *et al.* 1979, Ellison and Harbottle 1983, Nolan 1989, 1990 and 1993) have been published in journals, and the RCHM (1972) survey of the fortifications of York includes a chapter on the Civil War defences and siege. My own paper on the siegeworks at Colchester discusses a small aspect of the siege, and this discussion forms the basis for the micro-historical study in Chapter 5 (Mabbitt 2009). Smaller towns are even less well served, with Newark (RCHM 1964; Dean 1968; Kinsley 1988) a notable exception.

This local focus is both the greatest strength and the greatest weakness of archaeological studies of this period. Individual researchers' local knowledge, gained over years, can be unparalleled. A small group of detailed individual accounts, however, do not necessarily form a basis for understanding wider trends and developments, and until 1992, there was no clear overview of the archaeology of the Civil War.

#### ***1.5.4 A National Perspective?***

Harrington's *Archaeology of the English Civil War* (1992) was the first sustained attempt to synthesise published archaeological work. Accepting the fragmentary nature of the archaeological record at the time, Harrington made no real attempt to draw detailed conclusions from the material in front of him. Nevertheless, as a basic guide to what was known and with a gazetteer to signpost researchers to more detailed accounts, this study was extremely useful and was invaluable as a starting point for my own researches. Eleven years later, the extended *English Civil War Archaeology* (Harrington 2004) covered similar ground. With more research available, partly as result of the increased frequency of archaeological investigations under the provisions of PPG16 and since 2010 PPS5, and partly from commemorations linked to the 350<sup>th</sup> anniversaries of many of the major engagements, Harrington adopted a more synthetic, but still primarily descriptive, approach and set out a vision of the use of archaeology in understanding the Civil War period more clearly. Discussing Nathan Drake's diary of the first two sieges of Pontefract Castle (Raine 1861), he argued that history could:

*...supply us with information on what was done, when it was done and sometimes why. However, Drake, like many writers of the period, fails to record how things were done* (Harrington 2004, 8).

This emphasis on the secondary importance of archaeological evidence typifies Harrington's work, where a military history agenda is given primacy. This work is



deeply influenced by recent methodological developments in battlefield archaeology, and is almost wholly concerned with what archaeological evidence can add to the understanding of individual actions. In this respect, the role of archaeology has hardly moved on from O'Neil over forty years earlier. Only in the very last chapter, 'Economies of War' does Harrington hint at the use of archaeology in understanding the society from which the conflict arose, in which it was fought, and which emerged from over twenty years of warfare, political crisis and social instability.

### ***1.5.5 Specialized Studies***

There are some specialised studies where archaeological evidence has moved on from a purely historical research agenda. The clearest of these is battlefield archaeology.

Drawing heavily on studies of American Civil War battlefields and other engagements such as the Northern Cheyenne outbreak (McDonald *et al.* 1991), researchers have tried to use archaeological data to understand the course of events in individual engagements. The best known Civil War examples are the projects at Marston Moor (Newman 1981) and Naseby (Foard 1995b), where archaeologists worked with local groups and metal-detectorists to recover and plot finds of military artefacts, particularly musket balls. This type of work has focused on large rural sites for obvious logistical reasons; while it can be applied to urban sites (e.g. Courtney and Courtney 1992) these have not proven to give satisfying results, usually because of a lack of evidence.

At its simplest, battlefield archaeology uses techniques of spatial analysis to understand aspects of battle such as troop movements and locations. More recently, some battlefield archaeologists have distanced themselves from traditional military history by examining warfare as a cultural construct, its course and conduct dependent on the society that created it rather than divorced from this social context (Carman 1999; Schofield 2009).

Within the English Civil Wars, Lila Rakoczy's (2007, 2008b) work using archaeological methods to study the mechanics and meaning of castle slighting, represents the most recent attempt to bring traditional studies of military architecture into line with conventional archaeology.

One role clearly identified in local research agendas is the use of palaeo-environmental study to examine living conditions, particularly diet, during the Civil War. However, few suitable deposits have been identified, largely due to issues of attribution; similar issues have hampered material culture studies (Askew pers. comm.). In a reminder of the unpredictability of the archaeological resource, the oldest known condoms in Britain were preserved in the garderobe at Dudley Castle (Gaimster *et al.* 1997).

Similarly, the opportunity to excavate a cemetery dating from this period presents a valuable, but rare chance to examine living conditions, health and mortality. However, the Protectorate period cemetery in Abingdon remains the only modern excavation of a significant burial group of this period (Allen 1990). Palaeopathology may have enormous potential to inform study, but only where graves can be excavated and securely dated. Work of this type comes with very difficult legal and ethical issues that restrict its practical use.

It is possible to characterise much of the existing archaeological scholarship of the period as English Civil War Archaeology that is characterised by a military historical research agenda and a focus on battlefields and fortifications as military features. There appears to have been little reference made to either the methodological or theoretical advances made in historical archaeology, and an unwillingness to engage with the wider debates on the period that have largely been left to the historians. This lack of ambition

and imagination has left the archaeology of the period as a small and not particularly interesting niche subject, rather than setting it at the heart of the archaeological and indeed documentary historical) debate on the origins of modernity.

## **1.6 The Sources**

### ***1.6.1 Archaeological Evidence***

The first and most obvious source of archaeological evidence is from traditional archaeological fieldwork, including interventions such as excavations, and smaller scale evaluations and watching briefs as well as non-invasive survey techniques, such as geophysical survey. In general, these are probably the most important sources for any detailed archaeological study, as they can allow a larger element of control over the process of recovering data from specific stratigraphic and landscape contexts, permitting much more detailed analysis. Even so, there are important issues involved with using this material. The largest of these is the issue of sample selection. The vast majority of archaeological fieldwork carried out in Britain is carried out commercially as part of the planning and development process. This means that sites are selected on the basis of where development is to occur rather than for specific research potential. This is particularly important in urban areas where opportunities to carry out research-based excavations are limited by the logistical and cost implications of excavation work. In addition, the later phases of archaeological deposition are usually those most heavily affected by subsequent development. Where these deposits survive, the frequently pressured nature of commercial fieldwork means that post-medieval deposits are often dealt with in less detail than earlier, more 'valuable' medieval or Roman remains (Lawrence 2006, 308). The apparent familiarity of the recent past, or often just the perception that documentary sources can provide all the information that could be

gained from archaeological investigation, has prevented it from becoming a suitable subject for archaeological study (West 1999, 2-3).

Targeted non-invasive survey techniques, such as geophysical and metal-detecting survey or fieldwalking are useful to investigate substantial areas of a landscape, particularly where the archaeological evidence exists as scatters of artefactual material rather than discrete features or structures. The evidence from these types of survey is traditionally used to identify and locate specific areas for subsequent investigation by excavation, but increasingly, surveys of battlefields such as Marston Moor or Naseby have used this type of investigation as ends in themselves. However, this type of survey relies on the availability of open and cultivated land. Where there has been recent development, opportunities for non-invasive survey are particularly restricted.

Most British towns have at least some surviving buildings dating from the 17<sup>th</sup> century and earlier. Information about what types of building were being built at any stage, how they were being built and how their use and form was adapted over time can be gained from these. Exceptionally, surviving structures such as the Siege House in Colchester's East Street, or the section of Town Wall at Orchard Street in Newcastle upon Tyne bear traces of the war. Again, there are specific difficulties in using this evidence, the most obvious of which is that there is much higher rate of survival of high-status, civic and ecclesiastical buildings, which were generally more solidly built and more often deliberately preserved than more humble or utilitarian structures. The issue of deliberate preservation or demolition is particularly important here, and can be studied in terms of how collective remembered pasts are created and manipulated.

Chance finds of objects represent a particularly large proportion of the known archaeological evidence of Civil War activity, but are probably the most difficult form of evidence to use from this period. These are particularly common in local museums and private collections and range from the clearly provenanced (cannon balls found embedded in town walls) to the frankly dubious (the body found buried in Gloucester, apparently still wearing boots, spurs and buff coat; Atkin and Howes 1993, 19). Used carefully, this material can be used to great effect, though even thoroughly researched work such as the Courtneys' (1992) survey of Leicester can appear very speculative where the evidence base is restricted.

Added to these specific concerns, there are more general pitfalls. The most obvious of these is the issue of attribution. Pottery and clay pipe dates, the most common form of archaeological dating evidence can usually be stated to a precision of two or three decades at best. While dendrochronological dates can be much more accurate (theoretically to the season of felling), these are uncommon in this context, and with variations in timber conversion techniques, rarely provide a margin of error of less than 10 years. In these cases, a link needs to be made between stratigraphic and documentary evidence for more precise dating. Sites can only be generally ascribed to the Civil War period and even the very comprehensive surveys of Exeter and Plymouth (Stoyle 1995, 1998) and Gloucester (Atkin and Howes 1993) have produced archaeological evidence that cannot be definitively matched with the documentary record. The real danger is of overconfident equation of stratigraphic detail with documented events. The destruction by fire of a house at Osborne Street in Colchester during the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century is, as the excavator tentatively suggested, most likely to have occurred during the documented firing of the suburbs in this area in 1648. However, as the excavator acknowledged, in an era of timber buildings with thatched roofs, candles and open fires, house fires were

an unpleasant fact of early modern urban life, and need have no sinister cause (Shimmin 1994, 56). Alternatively, evidence of specific damage described in contemporary accounts can sometimes be attributed with some confidence as at Orchard Street in Newcastle, where a crater left by the detonation of a mine was observed (Nolan 1993, 97). Nowhere in England has clear archaeological evidence of the extent and methods of mining been observed - in this respect, the archaeology of King John's Castle, Limerick where a network of mines has been excavated is particularly important (Wiggins 2002).

Sample selection is another important issue. As urban archaeologists generally do not have the luxury of selecting sites to be excavated to answer specific research aims, and that those research aims may not be considered important enough to merit an expensive programme of excavation, the traditional archaeological research methodology needs to be modified.

These limitations of purely archaeological approaches to study of this period appear to be the main reason why material remains have not been explored with any real conviction in the past. In terms of investigating the Civil War itself, archaeological evidence is too often very limited, dubiously attributed and simply too imprecise to allow detailed conclusions to be drawn. Evidence from any one town is at present insufficient to allow for a detailed survey of this depth. The apparent futility of studying the archaeology of the English Civil War becomes a self-fulfilling prophesy when research is aimed at understanding and enlivening textual sources. When attempting to justify any fieldwork research into the period, the question is always the same; what will this tell us that the documents do not? In the case of any one individual site, the answer is almost always 'very little'. It is only when these sites are understood in conjunction

with the texts, and the texts understood in conjunction with the material evidence that the true contribution of archaeology to the study of the English Revolution can be understood. The greatest limitation of existing archaeological work, however, has been in its lack of ambition; few attempts have been made to move beyond the particular towards a more generalised understanding of the material culture of Revolution. What is needed is not a narrow text-based archaeology of the Civil War, but a genuine historical archaeology of the English Revolution.

### **1.7 Methodology: using Historical Archaeology to understand the English Revolution**

The present study should not be seen as archaeology for historians, or as history for archaeologists, but as a sustained attempt to explore the English town - a key locus for material expression - before, during and after the English Revolution and to integrate documentary and material sources to develop a more nuanced understanding of the materiality of the English Revolution. The relationship between documentary and archaeological approaches must be clearly understood, particularly so in a subject which has been subject to such intense and significant historical scholarship, but where archaeological studies have never explored the full potential of the evidence.

Archaeological methods and data have the potential to inform and challenge documentary historical approaches, but as long as archaeology is seen as data creation rather than interpretation, it seems that it has little to offer as a supplement, let alone as an alternative to, documentary histories. Any attempt to break away from the seeming unwillingness to engage with the archaeology of the English Revolution presents a huge opportunity for new archaeological research. What is important here is to establish an archaeologically grounded analytical approach to both material and documentary

evidence. Inevitably, this thesis will focus on the materiality of the Revolution, but uses both material and textual evidence to understand the cultural meaning of that materiality more fully.

Warfare is best seen as a manifestation of individual cultures. It is waged within (or between more than one) society, to specific understandings of what is considered legitimate and acceptable, even if these codes were not always written down or followed, and are frequently not shared by all sides (Carman 1999). In the English Civil War, the combatants were mainly drawn from the local communities and while individual choice of side could be severely limited, there was clear engagement with the issues at stake on a local if not necessarily national level (Howell 1967; Stoye 1994, 1996; Underdown 1985).

It is a fundamental assumption of archaeological studies that material culture is the active and meaningful product of cultural activity (Hodder 1991, 5). Past cultures invested the objects that they used and created with meanings that reflected and formed their understanding of the world and their society. The context in which an object or a structure is used determines its meaning as much as any explicit symbology that it embodies (Hodder 1991, 143). This is not a question of the relationship between form and function; the function and use of even the most utilitarian objects are determined by culture (Deetz 1996, 34-6). I will argue throughout that because warfare leaves material evidence in many forms, this evidence can be studied in its own right, rather than as a way of fleshing out or bringing life to historical accounts.

Local archaeological studies have a long tradition of contributing decisively to national debates on the Civil War (Richardson 1997, 12) but purely local archaeological studies



are not enough. While many aspects of the Civil War can be understood as variations in regional culture (Underdown 1985, vii), the current state of archaeological research into the English Civil War is such that local studies exist in a vacuum, where the national and international perspective is lost. In focusing in this research on towns (and in particular on Newcastle and Colchester) I am not trying to produce a definitive description of individual communities but instead am attempting to understand the wider context through reference to the particular; an 'archaeology' of the very fabric of society (Johnson 1996, 3-4). This understanding of the purpose of archaeological study returns me to my initial point. Urban society was fundamentally different before and after the English Civil War. What I am trying to understand is not so much the course or the events of the Civil War, which were material manifestations of a wider cultural change, but to understand that cultural change, which to reuse an old and much debated phraseology can best be defined as the English Revolution. In using this term, I am emphatically not accepting past conceptions of political, social or religious revolution uncritically. Rather, I am seeking to develop an understanding of the materiality of the English Revolution to better understand this cultural change.

## **1.8 Research Design**

### ***1.8.1 Aims and Objectives***

This thesis draws on an understanding of 17<sup>th</sup>-century warfare as material culture to understand the English Revolution as it was materially manifested within English towns. My overarching intention is to investigate the tensions within English culture as a whole by understanding how these tensions are evidenced on a local scale through material culture.

**Table 1.1 Aims and Objectives**

<b>Aims and Objectives</b>
AIM 1: To explore how archaeological evidence and methods can be employed to gain greater insights into the English Revolution
Objective 1a: To understand English urban material culture on the eve of, and during, the English Civil War by examining the fortification of English towns before and during the English Civil War, drawing on a general survey of archaeological observations on urban defences and of contemporary military literature.
Objective 1b: To understand warfare as a material expression of culture by critically examining the practice of urban sieges during the English Civil War, drawing on archaeological observations of siege works and contemporary military literature.
Objective 1c: To understand destruction caused by warfare, drawing on a general survey of archaeological observations of damage and of contemporary documentary accounts.
Objective 1d: To develop a heightened understanding of English urban material culture in the aftermath of the English Civil War by examining the civic and domestic, ecclesiastical and military reconstruction of English towns during the Commonwealth and after the Restoration.
AIM 2: To develop an understanding of the materiality of the Revolution and the interplay between material culture and documentary narratives
Objective 2a: To understand the disjunctions between the archaeological record, documentary sources and mythologies of place and event during the English Revolution.
Objective 2b: To explore the concept of destruction as a culturally meaningful act, using archaeological observations and contemporary and later documentary sources.
Objective 2c: To understand the self-representational strategies of communities and cultural elites during the Revolution to demonstrate the extent and depth of cultural change across the period of the English Revolution.
Objective 2d: To understand the material legacies of conflict by examining the later curation, interpretation and use of sites of memory within English towns.
AIM 3: To read the English Revolution in the context of the key theoretical and methodological concerns of post-1492 historical archaeology
Objective 3a: To set the material culture of the Revolution firmly within the theoretical framework of Historical Archaeology by focusing on the materiality of the Revolution.
Objective 3b: To understand the wider cultural context of the English Revolution by examining contemporary English settlement, fortification and warfare within Ireland and the New World, allowing thematic and cultural parallels to be explored.

### **1.8.2 Structure of this Thesis**

Chapter 2 sets out in detail the value of historical archaeology to the understanding of the English Revolution and seeks to explain the limitations of existing archaeological research into the English Civil War. Chapter 3 explores definitions of urbanism and examines urban society during the English Revolution, setting the scene for the detailed discussion of the archaeological evidence that follows by developing an explicitly material understanding of English urban culture on the outset of the English Civil War.

The main body of the thesis will investigate four fundamental areas of study; fortification (Chapter 4), the siege (Chapter 5), destruction (Chapter 6) and reconstruction (Chapter 7). These have been chosen because they are the most clearly evidenced material results of the Civil War within urban culture. The principal intent of these chapters is to develop the evidence base required to explore Aim 1, with the information informing objectives 1a (fortification), 1b (sieges), 1c (destruction) and 1d (reconstruction) respectively. The basic methodology for all four chapters is to undertake detailed microhistorical case studies which then allow specific issues to be explored within the context of a wider survey of the existing corpus of archaeological and documentary evidence.

The specific studies are drawn primarily from research in Newcastle upon Tyne and Colchester, towns of comparable size but contrasting fortunes. Colchester escaped the ravages of war for six years, until it became a key focus of the Second Civil War, the conflict that shattered the uneasy accord between English Parliamentarians and Scottish Presbyterians, and ended with the King on trial for his life. Newcastle, by contrast, was refortified as early as 1639, and had already endured a lengthy Scottish military occupation that ended the year before Charles raised his standard at Nottingham, the

traditionally accepted start of the Civil War. By 1648, the town had been besieged, stormed and occupied by the Scottish army, the fortifications partly rebuilt and the town returned to English (albeit military) government. It was Colchester, however, that declined after the Civil War, with Newcastle becoming once again through its position as the key to the lucrative coal trade between the north-east of England and the capital. Other case studies have been selected, and include London, Londonderry, and Berwick upon Tweed. The refortification of Newcastle during the English Civil War is the basis for Chapter 4, the circumvallation of Colchester the key for Chapter 5. Chapter 6 deals in detail with urban destruction in Colchester, and Chapter 7 with the reconstruction of English towns, drawing on a wide range of case studies, including the work of Pamela Graves (2007) on the construction of a number of merchant's houses on the Tyne waterfront during the Protectorate.

There are limitations to this microhistorical approach, which must be noted. Individual case studies have been selected with reference to the available information. They are neither necessarily representative nor do these chapters represent definitive and complete surveys. As long as these limitations are acknowledged and understood within the wider context, this approach facilitates a more detailed focus that allows the relationship between local and national events and between specific events and general cultural trends to be highlighted and understood.

These microhistories also provide information that can be used or developed to inform Aim 2, which by its nature requires a more detailed and nuanced understanding of the relationship between textual and material narratives in specific instances. Where significant disjunctures between documentary and archaeological records have been identified, these have been investigated further within the specific case studies

(Objectives 2a, 2b and 2c), and have been specifically developed in Chapter 8, where case studies of Colchester and Londonderry and St George's Hill (Surrey) develop themes of cultural production (Objective 2b) and identity (Objective 2c) and understand the selective nature of the quasi-mythical readings of the past that are focused on specific site of memory, inscribing cultural meaning onto the fabric of English towns (Objective 2d); these stories share a number of common themes and tropes (Fox 2000), but it is their individuality and particularity that allows meaningful conclusions to be drawn from their study.

Informing this thesis as a whole is an awareness of the theoretical underpinning established by the development of post-1492 ('Americanist') historical archaeology. Previous archaeological study of The English Civil War has been restricted to work in the British tradition of post-medieval archaeology. What is needed, I suggest, is a much clearer understanding of the relationship between the English Revolution and an archaeological approach that is fundamentally concerned with issues of modernity (Aim 3). The basic theoretical framework of post-1492 Historical Archaeology (Objective 3a) is set out in Chapter 2, and specifically applied to the English town in Chapter 3, but is followed through in the subsequent thematic chapters. Direct connections with events in the nascent British Empire (Objective 3b) are primarily investigated through the reconstruction of English towns in Chapter 7, but are also considered as they apply to fortification in Chapter 4, and to material narratives in Chapter 8, in the discussion of Londonderry's walls.

## **Chapter 2. Historical Archaeology and the English Revolution**

To fully understand the potential contribution of historical archaeology to an understanding of the materiality of the English Revolution, it is necessary to understand what this diversely understood description actually means. This problem is compounded by the apparent reluctance of previous archaeological scholarship of the Wars to engage with historical archaeology. In this chapter, I aim to move beyond a simple definition, to understanding the differences in the ways in which the archaeology of the same chronological period has been understood as ‘post-medieval’ or ‘historical’ archaeology, and how and where the disciplines have begun to converge to allow a clearer understanding of what historical archaeology has to offer to study of this period. I conclude by setting out my understanding of how study of the English Revolution can be set into a wider temporal and intellectual context by reference to the methodologies or theoretical perspectives of historical archaeology.

### **2.1 What is Historical Archaeology?**

Historical archaeology is a difficult discipline to explain. At the root of this definitional difficulty lies the gulf between the disciplines of archaeology and documentary history, which share a common interest in the past, but adopt fundamentally different methods, subject matter and explanations. The principal theoretical difficulty lies in integrating documentary sources with the evidence of material culture, and giving due weight to the evidence of both. The principal practical difficulty is to write historical archaeology that can genuinely inform and challenge mainstream historiographical debate. Ivor Noel Hume (1964) first characterised archaeology as the ‘handmaiden to history’. It was later said, only half-joking, that historical archaeology is, “...the most expensive way in the world of finding out what you already knew” (Deetz 1991, 1). Mary Beaudry noted the

‘tautologous’ nature of the discipline (1993a, 2), and it is all too easy to use the one type of evidence merely to illustrate conclusions drawn from the other.

Definitions of historical archaeology tend to address at least one of three key issues: the period of study, the thematic scope of study and the relationship of archaeological and documentary sources. Orser (2004, 6-25) gave the fullest explanation of the discipline. Schuyler’s (1970, 84) definition of historical archaeology as ‘the study of material remains from any historic period’ gave a clear outline of the emerging discipline, but did little to explain these key issues. Deetz defined historical archaeology in a specifically New World context as ‘...the archaeology of the spread of European culture throughout the world since the 15<sup>th</sup> century and its effects on indigenous peoples’ (Deetz 1993, 11). Orser’s key addition to this American tradition was to explicitly challenge the eurocentric bias inherent in Deetz’s definition: it is not just the impact of European cultures on indigenous people, but also the changes to European culture brought on by contact and empire that should be the aim of study (Orser 1996, 89-106). Orser’s definition is of historical archaeology as the project to understand the development of the modern, western capitalist world.

*Historical Archaeology is a multidisciplinary field that shares a special relationship with the formal disciplines of anthropology and history, focuses its attention on the post-prehistoric past, and seeks to understand the global nature of modern life (Orser 2004, 19).*

While this is the clearest single definition of historical archaeology, other aspects of the discipline need to be taken into account. Orser’s definition is by no means universally accepted; Cranstone (2004) explicitly challenged the ‘Americentrism’ of a discipline defined thematically and chronologically by contact and colonialism, a view developed, though in a different context by Sarah Tarlow (2007). Johnson used a wider,

Foucauldian definition of archaeology as ‘...looking at the underlying structures of an object and the discourses that created it...’ (Johnson 1996, 3-4). While this approach is not necessarily specific to historical archaeology, it forms the basis for relating study of material culture to documentary sources, and shows another way in which archaeological studies can challenge and complement documentary history. Clearly, any definition of the discipline needs to refer to these key concerns, but beyond this it must also answer the fundamental concerns of all writing about the past. How relevant, accurate, useful and interesting are the stories that we tell?

## **2.2 The Development of Historical Archaeology: British and American Approaches Compared**

### ***2.2.1 British and American Historical Archaeology***

There has been a significant difference in the ways in which historical archaeology has been practised in different parts of the world. As a generalisation, a distinction can be drawn between the British (though also more generally European) approach and the American (and much of the rest of the New World) approach. Historical archaeology is itself a term that was coined in the United States during the late-1960s to describe the approach that saw archaeology as a valid method of study of the documented past, and has only gradually come into common use in British academic circles over the last decade (Majewski and Gaimster 2009, vii). Comparison with the practice of post-medieval archaeology within other European countries demonstrates a similar unwillingness to engage with theoretical approaches (and indeed the archaeology of the modern world) until around the 1990s, with Italy remaining the only European nation to have a print journal dedicated to the archaeology of the post-medieval period (Courtney 2009, 171-5). The British - and indeed European - title, ‘post-medieval archaeology’ clearly hints at a fundamentally different approach to that in the US. Understanding how



these differences have arisen is critical to understanding how they have influenced the emerging discipline. These differences are summarised in the table below.

**Table 2.1 Differences between British and American Historical Archaeology**

<b>British - 'post-medieval archaeology'</b>	<b>American - 'historical archaeology'</b>
historical	anthropological
source-driven	theory-driven
parochial	global
descriptive	analytical
academic	politicised

### ***2.2.2 Origins***

The origins of British post-medieval archaeology and American historical archaeology draw on common factors that have created two distinct approaches, but established sufficient common ground for the two to converge. Both are founded in reactions to the end of the European empires, but each has been influenced by the separate academic traditions to which they have been allied, and by the nature of the transition between prehistory and the historical period in each area.

### ***2.2.3 Imperialism, Encounter and Contact***

While the colossal extent of the British and other European Empires during the 19<sup>th</sup> and early-20<sup>th</sup> centuries gave opportunities to a whole class of European archaeologists, it is the American approach that is explicitly rooted in the legacy of colonialism. The confrontation of Old World and New is the fundamental theme by which the early history of America and by extension, the modern world is understood.

*...these haunts from the modern age affected the Emerald Isle in multifacted ways. The people of Gorttoose... and indeed across the rest of the colonized world... interacted with one another and had interactions forced upon them* (Orser 1996, 105).

Research has focused on how imperialism affected colonial possessions, how power was exercised and territory claimed (e.g. Seed 1995, Orser 1996), how the culture of the imperial power changed within the colonies (e.g. Loftfield 2001) and even how the imperial culture changed 'at home' (e.g. Johnson 1999a). This focus is particularly important within the political and intellectual context of American society, where politically active cultural and ethnic groups seek to stake a claim that may have hitherto been overlooked, to the past (McDonald *et al.* 1991, Epperson 1999, 81-6). The emergence of nations from the former European colonies, each with their own ethnic and political concerns has created a desire to not only reclaim ancient histories but to reassess the more recent imperial past and to give 'voice to the voiceless' (Leone and Potter 2003, viii). More recently, archaeologists have moved towards a more nuanced understanding of the cultural relationships between colonial powers and subject, acknowledging the changes over time in both indigenous and colonial culture (Jordan 2009, 33). Courtney (2009, 182) acknowledged the multivalency of this debate, acutely aware that he was writing in Leicester, a city likely to soon have a majority non-white population comprising the descendants of immigrants from Britain's former colonial possessions in the Indian subcontinent.

While conceptions of cultural superiority and the 'civilising' mission of the British are entwined with the traditions of British archaeology, particularly of the Roman period, the archaeology of Empire was for many decades a neglected subject. Instead, the great civilisations of the past became the main areas of study while the existence of empire gave the opportunity. Explicit comparisons between British and ancient imperialism

were rarely drawn, but the ideological messages inherent in the study of these past civilisations were clear (Hingley 2000, 2005; Brunt 1967, 269-70). Where justification was given for the wholesale removal of relics of lost cultures of the past, it was the supposed inability or unwillingness of subject peoples to recognise, curate and understand their own heritage (Kardulias 1994, 42).

#### ***2.2.4 Classicism and Anthropology***

Many of the earliest archaeological investigations were those carried out in search of 'lost' classical or biblical sites. Classical learning was the mark of the gentleman and scholar; classical texts defined the context for archaeological work, the results of which could only be interpreted through the writings of the ancients (Kardulias 1994, 42). The epic grandeur of these texts was matched only by the scale and scope of the archaeological remains. Archaeology, with a few exceptions, was aligned in universities with classics, ancient history and history (Shott 2005). The lasting influence of the tendency to treat material culture as secondary to text is particularly apparent in the supporting role given to archaeology in works on industrial archaeology that use the conclusions of economic history to define the terms of reference for a whole period (e.g. Crossley 1990; review by Elia 1993).

The theoretical basis of American archaeology stems from its inclusion with anthropology in most American universities. The New Archaeologists' attempts to introduce a scientific, deductive and generalising discipline in the 1960s strengthened this link (Shott 2005). American works in historical archaeology have been characterised by an explicit theoretical framework, whether functionalism (e.g. South 1993), structuralism (e.g. Deetz 1996) or critical theory (e.g. Leone and Potter 2003) and the use of 'scientific' approaches such as seriation, and patterning analysis (Deetz

1996, 27-9), techniques which continue to be developed and used as analytical tools (O'Brien and Lyman 2009). On the other hand, the influence of anthropology can also be seen in the tendency to understand culture through the 'small things forgotten', an approach that was explicitly adopted by Deetz (1977) and developed by others (e.g. Beaudry 2006); the smallest items of material culture are no less laden with cultural meaning than the large, and the personal nature of the stories that could be woven about these artefacts was invaluable in drawing an audience to the tale that was being told (Wilkie 2009, 337-8). This tendency towards the 'small things' has also illustrated a parallel development within historical archaeology, and one that derives primarily from critical theory. In individual stories, a focus on social interaction rather than cultural expression can be developed. The role of agency and individual choice is foregrounded over the deterministic nature of cultural tradition (Orser 1998). Hall (2000) has critiqued purely interpretive approaches, providing instead a clear exposition of how this changed emphasis can be integrated with a Deetzian understanding of the Georgian. Increasingly, the search for an understanding of agency has come to override a purely cultural approach (e.g. Mayne and Murray 1999).

### ***2.2.5 The Georgian World View***

At this point, it is probably appropriate to set out my understanding of the problematic term 'Georgian'. This is a central conception of Historical Archaeology, first set out by Deetz in *In Small Things Forgotten* (1977). Deetz' initial conception of the Georgian World View has been substantially modified by subsequent scholarship, which has taken his initial characterisation of the cultural world of the 18<sup>th</sup> century based on a small sample of a small part of the eastern seaboard of the United States, and applied it to a number of different situations. Hall's (1999) conception of a variously expressed set of cultural discourses tying together the modern, colonial world is as close to a

comprehensive definition as has been offered since Deetz. In general usage, the term brings different resonances on either side of the Atlantic (and indeed, either side of the Irish Sea). I have used the term primarily as the historiographical theme of the study of a material expression of an identifiably modern cultural discourse, rather than as in the sense of the coherent world view as envisaged by Deetz (1977).

In a strict sense, there is little in Deetz or Hall's characterisations of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Georgian world that is directly relevant to this study. However, just as Matthew Johnson (1993, 2010) has explored of the origins of many of the key themes of Deetz' conception of the Georgian in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup>-century English housing, there is much of the material culture of this period that seems to prefigure the characteristics of individualism, symmetry, and order that are central to Deetz' conception of the Georgian. Consequently, my understanding of the term returns to Deetz' (1996, 67) basic understanding of 'the Georgian' as the various material expressions of the changing relation of the individual to society and the expression of social order through the ordering of the material world.

#### ***2.2.5 Protohistory***

The greatest difference between British and American historical archaeology is the time for which documentary sources are available in Britain. British history can be said to start with Ptolemy, or more usually, Caesar. There is no American documentary history before the arrival of the Europeans, and what is more important, there is no American documentary history other than of the arrival of the Europeans and their slaves until at least the War of Independence, and in the West, significantly later. Here, I shall focus on the implications of this for the general nature of historical archaeology; the implications for the relationship of my research with the discipline are considered later.

In Britain, historical archaeology is largely synonymous with post-medieval archaeology, because the period studied by American historical archaeologists is broadly the same. However, the post-medieval period is the last of a series of period-based compartments with strict (and generally text-defined) divisions. The Romans left Britain in darkness in 410 AD; Feudalism and the Middle Ages started in 1066. The accession of Henry VII in 1485 (or possibly the dissolution of the monasteries in 1539) commenced the post-medieval era. The argument for these divisions is that they reduce the enormity of the historical period to discrete and coherent elements (Crawford 1968, 85). As should be expected, and the work of Eammon Duffy (2003) on the parish of Morebath vividly demonstrates, these sharp historical definitions do not encompass the more gradual complexities of cultural change. Issues of periodisation can often seem to be particularly sterile debates, and the accepted timescales often an arbitrary division. Nevertheless, for better or worse, these abstract divisions still serve to break up and compartmentalise the sheer scale and diversity of the historic period in Britain.

America's much shorter period of documented history leads to a much more unified approach. Thematic archaeological approaches have had a greater acceptance, largely because of the clear cultural break represented by the arrival of the first colonists. Effectively, American historical archaeology has enjoyed a single cultural period of study, which begins with the arrival of the colonists and trends into a conception of the modern. In some cases, this view can be too unified. The most significant critique of the periodisation contained within Deetz's work to date highlights the danger of assuming the arrival from England of a monolithic folk cultures during the 17<sup>th</sup> century and a developed 'Georgian' culture in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century (Johnson 1996, 2006):

*It seemed to me that there was a sense, particularly in Deetz writing, that a pristine, completed mental model or worldview arrived in north America in the heads of English migrants in the early-17<sup>th</sup> century and that a second mental model arrived, contained within the pages of London pattern books, in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century... when these pre-Georgian and Georgian world views were viewed within their English context, they appeared not as abstract, completed mindsets, but as markers of profound economic, social and cultural conflict (Johnson 2006, 319).*

Matthew Johnson (1993) first posited a view of the significance of the period before 1660 in England as a discrete period of cultural change, and has subsequently developed this conception; the colonists of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century were part of a rapidly and fundamentally changing culture, not some static and monolithic ‘medieval’ cultural tradition (Johnson 2010, 187).

### **2.2.6 Regionalism**

British archaeological practice can be intensely regional for a small country, a situation that has its roots at least as far back as the creation of numerous local archaeological, historical and antiquarian societies in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Matthew Johnson (2005) identified a specific trend towards what he termed ‘particularism’ in English landscape history, particularly the work of Hoskins. This tendency represented a deliberate focus on the English and the local, rather than any necessary ignorance of a wider context. This local focus has been reinforced by the policies of successive governments, which have seen the creation of numerous local archaeological units and trusts. Regionalism and the role of amateur researchers is fundamental to understanding the nature of British archaeology as a whole but the popular success of industrial archaeology is a particularly important example. The past focus of British industrial archaeology on localised sites and technical issues stands in stark contrast to American approaches that have sought to understand social change caused by industrialisation (compare particularly Crossley 1990 and Beaudry 1993b). Cultural and social aspects of the

Industrial Revolution have, until recently been left to the historians. There are clear parallels here with the historiography of the English Civil War (Richardson 1997, 1); local societies shouldered the burden of making rare texts available to serious scholars, just as the majority of fieldwork publication appears in local journals. While historians have used these sources extensively, the archaeological evidence is an underexploited resource.

As may be expected in such a large area, the United States have regional variations within their historical archaeology. The clearest examples of these variations which also display significant political elements are the intensive studies of New England and the Chesapeake. Here, early historical archaeology and display of its findings centred on the traditional founding fathers of America and their place within a quasi-mythical retelling of the foundation of America (Baker 1992). In many cases these variations appear to derive from different patterns of migration, settlement and encounter over the gradual westward expansion of the nation than due to specifically local interests. Other variations seem to derive from the particular influence of individual researchers or teams of researchers, such as Leone and Potter's work at Annapolis, or the Praetzellis' work in Sacramento (e.g. Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992).

Where a wider view is needed, British archaeological textbooks tend to be synthetic and descriptive, drawing together several sites for comparison (e.g. Crossley 1990, Harrington 2004). While the generalising trend of American historical archaeology has been noted, its textbooks take a different approach to the British. The emphasis is on the explanation of the general in terms of the particular. Deetz (1996) drew conclusions that sought to explain fundamentals of American society, but his work was rooted in a small area of the eastern seaboard of the United States. Orser's wide ranging *Historical*



*Archaeology* (2004) uses detailed case studies to illustrate and explain much broader points.

### **2.2.7 Competing Revolutions**

With the development of historical archaeology studies in Britain, it is particularly interesting to note the absence of the Civil War and Revolution (in the ways that it has been understood by documentary historians) in the works of the first generation of historical archaeologists. There are several possible reasons why British historical archaeologists have either looked forward to agrarian and industrial revolutions (Tarlow 2007; Crossley 1990; Newman *et al.* 2001) or more recently back to the reformation (Gilchrist and Gaimster 2003) as the real revolution. There is a long tradition of archaeological study of landscape and industry, and much recent work (Johnson 2010; Williamson 1999) differs from the old (Hoskins 1955) in interpretation as much as in method. Studies of the Reformation reflect a more recent concern with the power of image and changing ways in which structures were used (Gaimster and Gilchrist 2003). Tarlow's (2007) *Archaeology of Improvement* brought together material evidence from all aspects of material culture to develop a coherent and distinctive British approach to modernity, encompassing the period from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century onwards. While the 18<sup>th</sup> century has remained an important focus for British historical archaeologists, and the 16<sup>th</sup> century has seen something of a flowering of interest (e.g. Gaimster and Gilchrist 2003, Biddle 2005), the 17<sup>th</sup> century - Johnson aside - remains comparatively neglected. The concept of the mid 17<sup>th</sup>-century revolution is not one that has engaged historical archaeologists in Britain, though the causes and effects of that revolution are critical to understanding the very theories of modernity and social change that underlie the American tradition of historical archaeology. An archaeology of the English Revolution

is possibly the most important contribution that British historical archaeology can make to the American tradition that inspired it.

### **2.3 Convergence: Historical Archaeology as a Study of the Modern World?**

#### ***2.3.1 Convergence***

Over the last ten to fifteen years, there has been a gradual convergence of the separate traditions of post-medieval and historical archaeology, at least in theory and academic study. The global perspective of modern historical archaeology means that the colonies cannot be studied in isolation from the imperial power, just as the importance of the colonies to that imperial power must not be underestimated (Courtney 1993, Johnson 1999a). Understanding the emergence of the modern world requires an understanding of empire in a political and social sense but most of all in terms of economics, of production and consumption, and of power and its articulation (Johnson 1996, 219-220). While there is no universal agreement on the why and the how of the modern world, the terms of the debate have been set by recent developments in interpretive archaeology and theories of social interaction (Wilkie 2009, Hall 2000, Orser 1998).

#### ***2.3.2 The Irish Plantations***

This new convergence is best evidenced in archaeological studies of the plantation of Munster and Ulster. Ireland occupies a uniquely liminal position within historical archaeology; part of the old world, its modern history shares a number of characteristics with the colonies of the New World. Between Britain and America, Ireland has been seen as both New and Old World, and the Irish as both colonists and colonised. The Munster Plantation followed earlier and generally unsuccessful attempts to set up exemplary plantations in King's County (Counties Laois and Offaly) in the 1560s and 1570s, and followed the rising/revolt of the Earl of Desmond. These plantations were short-lived, and most settlers were dispossessed in the 9 Years War of the 1590s. The

Ulster Plantation was a more comprehensive attempt at creating a stable colony based on a network of planted settlements intended to fill the power vacuum left after the Flight of the Earls in 1607. Plantation sites in Ulster were sold to ‘undertakers’, private landowners or corporate bodies, such as the London Companies in Londonderry, who undertook to populate and cultivate the new plantation. In effect, this process consisted of the settling of mainly Scottish Protestants in a network of defended farmsteads and started in Ulster in 1609. At the same time, towns including Londonderry and Coleraine were established (Lacey 1991, 201-5). The eventual Catholic Irish rising/rebellion against the plantations and the Protestant English monarchy in 1641 was a crucial factor in the political chaos that led to the English Civil War (Kishlansky 1996, 138-40). Until recently, the Ulster Plantation has been something of a neglected archaeological topic, although its place in the context of sale of Royal Offices and monopolies and the importance of the rising/rebellion have ensured that historical interest has been great and long-lived (e.g. Hill 1961, Kishlansky 1996).

The historical archaeological focus on Ulster is relatively recent, with Brannon’s (1999) study representing the first coherent historical archaeological approach to the subject. There had been early studies of Irish archaeology in both the post-medieval (e.g. Blades 1986; Ryan 1991) and American (e.g. Glassie 1982) traditions. Links to the colonisation of America had been noted before. Garvan (1951) had drawn explicit parallels between aspects of town planning and fortification in Ulster and the New World. Noel Hume and Deetz referred to the structural parallels between defended settlements in Ireland and New England (1993, 41). The Virginia Company of London, the Flowerdew family and the Merchant Tailor’s company were active in both Ulster and New England (Lacey 1991, 201-5), a parallel largely unexplored in Deetz’s (1993) account of the directly contemporary plantation of Flowerdew Hundred in Virginia. Archaeological work

within a historical archaeology framework developed rapidly, with the publication of a number of works, such as Delle's (1999) or Power's (2007) surveys of the Munster plantation. The theme of the 2006 Irish Post-Medieval Archaeology Group conference was 'Plantation Ireland', with papers published in 2009 as *Plantation Ireland, Settlement and Material Culture* (Lyttleton and Rynne 2009). This theme runs through Audrey Horning, Ruari O'Baoill, Colm Donnelly and Paul Logues' (2007) volume of collected papers on the *Post-Medieval Archaeology of Ireland*, including Donnelly's (2007) paper on the Ulster plantation which is set into context by Horning's work that explicitly compares and links plantation settlements in Ireland and the New World, exploring the implications for the interpretations of encounter and power exchange (Horning 2006, 2007a, 2007b). The research agenda put forward by Horning and Palmer (2009), which explicitly links, for the first time, Britain and Ireland in a considered approach for archaeological study, marks the acceptance of the significance of the fundamental links between Ireland and England.

## **2.4 Historical Archaeology as a Technique**

### **2.4.1 The 'Handmaiden of History'**

As Gaimster (2009, 526) noted, historical archaeology is primarily regarded in Europe as a description of a methodological approach. Regardless of the validity of this assumption, the use of documentary historical sources sets historical archaeology aside from the more conventional prehistoric archaeology, and poses specific challenges. Understanding the development of the discipline allows us to understand the strengths and limitations of the use of such material, and ways in which different types of sources can be integrated.

The earliest historical archaeology including antiquarianism and classical archaeology typifies what has been described as the ‘handmaiden of history’ approach (Noel Hume 1975, 3). In this, the research agenda was dominated by questions derived from documentary history, and sites made famous by history or associated with historical figures were excavated to inform study of those events or figures, and interpreted by inferences already made from the documentary sources. These include Clarendon’s excavations of the battlefield of Naseby (Harrington 2003, 81), or the earliest work at Jamestown (Orser 2004, 30).

An extension of the ‘handmaiden’ approach saw the recognition that historical sources did not hold all the answers, and that archaeology could be productively used to fill in gaps in historical knowledge. There are clear parallels with ‘history from below’ in this approach (Richardson 1998, 184-5); archaeological approaches generally highlight the importance of the mundane and the commonplace, which are so often not documented (Deetz 1993, 11).

#### ***2.4.2 Challenging the Sources***

This use of archaeology to fill in the gaps in documentary history is doomed to failure for a single reason. It fails to address the balance between the two strands of evidence. To use archaeology to its fullest potential, the nature of the sources must be taken into account and the gaps, rather than merely being filled should be understood. Critics of ‘history from below’ see it as just as patronising and superficial as ‘history from above’. What is needed is history ‘from the inside out’; an understanding of how past peoples and societies represented themselves, whether in text, dance, material culture or social behaviour. The issue is not of the primacy of any one strand of evidence, but of using that evidence to determine what that mode of self-expression is. Once it has been

identified, the interaction of that expression with material culture and text can then be studied to draw meaningful conclusions about the past (Beaudry *et al.* 1991, 163).

Seeing the past in its own terms brings new possibilities in terms of what are legitimate subjects of historical study by bringing new ways of looking at the evidence.

Archaeology is also a very effective technique for studying people who have been excluded from the documentary record. It is no coincidence that the emphasis on the poor, the dispossessed and the conquered as social groups has interacted with the study of the modern world to give a new vigour to Marxian interpretations of the past.

#### ***2.4.3 Asking New Questions***

Just as archaeological evidence and approaches have changed the way that historical periods can be approached, fundamental concepts of historical study have been brought to bear on archaeology. Textual and linguistic approaches have changed the way that archaeological evidence can be understood and queried. The structuralist concept of a 'grammar' of structure (Johnson 1993, Glassie 1975), pottery (Beaudry 1993) or even urban landscape (Leech 1999) suggests that elements of decoration, or structural units of buildings followed conscious and subconscious rules, that 'taste' and 'fashion' could be related to mental rules which governed aesthetic sense and formal meaning.

Much material culture can be seen as expressions of social and political culture that can be read as text (Hall 2000). Conversely Deetz claimed text as material culture (1996, 35). The key issue here is how far conscious meaning was built into houses, gardens (Leone and Potter 2003, 14-16) or within pottery (Ferguson 1991, 30) and how far these meanings were understood but remained unstated. If these meanings were consciously incorporated into artefacts and widely understood, the presence of specific types of material can be read in terms of identity, power networks and resistance (Johnson

1999b). However, the importance of considering the intended audiences of these meanings is vital to understanding their true importance; in the case of gardens, Williamson (1999) argued that elite gardens were intended as displays of wealth and power not to the poor and dispossessed, as argued by Marxian archaeologists such as Leone and Potter, but to rival groups within the elite. These meanings become particularly important in a consumer economy where prestige, social status and respectability were primarily displayed through material possessions (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992). Of fundamental importance, however, is the simple realisation that these meanings are by no means set, are multivalent, giving different meanings to different viewers, and in different contexts (Hall 2000)

## **2.5 The English Revolution in the Modern World**

### ***2.5.1 The Haunts of Historical Archaeology***

Accepting Orser's global definition of historical archaeology raises the question of how far the apparently parochial study of English towns can inform the study of the global nature of the modern world. Rejecting it requires reference to alternative traditions of study of the middle years of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in England. The central questions are those of the relationship between local, national and international factors and between process and agency.

It has been suggested that the study of capitalism is the only valid use of historical archaeology (Leone 2003, vi). The study of past manifestations of capitalism can be used to critique and understand the modern world (Leone and Potter 1999 and 2003). Even those less influenced by critical theory agree that the true subject of historical archaeology is the global, capitalist modern world (Johnson 1999, 219; Orser 2004, 19). The 'four haunts' remain constants (Orser 1996, 106). In these terms, archaeology is the

study of power and its articulation; of the success of the modern; the triumph of capitalism; and the effects of contact between European and indigenous cultures and empire. These are widely, though not universally accepted. Tarlow's *Archaeology of Improvement* (2007) set out to not only challenge a perceived 'Americentrism', but also to challenge the significance of capitalism in this grand narrative.

The English Revolution can be studied through power relations, and many past interpretations have stressed splits between opposing interest groups engaged in a struggle for supremacy, whether on a class basis (e.g. Hill 1961) or as loose groupings within high politics (e.g. Kishlansky 1996). On a more localised level, the articulation of localised authority is clear in Stoye's (1996) study of Civil War Exeter or Howell's (1967) study of Newcastle upon Tyne. This area has been more the domain of the historian within studies of the Civil War, but approaches to the articulation of power through the use of space and its display through material culture is central to much historical archaeology (Delle 1999; Hall 2000; Leone and Potter 2003).





**Figure 2.1 The gatehouse of Capetown Castle. Compare with the gatehouse of Tilbury Fort (Figure 7.10) (Vincent Steenberg, via Wikimedia Commons)**

The 17<sup>th</sup> century heralds the birth of modern Britain; the Wars as the result of contemporary debates on constitutional affairs, religion and order. The creation of a ‘modern’ order of parliamentary democracy with religious and intellectual freedom is more debatable (Kishlansky 1996). However, there is a clear parallel to Deetz’s argument for the creation of the new Georgian order from the medieval world-view that came to America from England (Deetz 1996) that should be explored.

The role of capitalism is more controversial; Marxist orthodoxy was modified to claim that a bourgeois revolution occurred in the absence of class consciousness because the men of the ‘middling sort’ were better off after the war than before (Richardson 1998,

133). This argument has never been entirely rebutted, though many of its components have been undermined, most powerfully by the lingering importance of the view that capitalism was effectively enabled by the slave-based production of raw materials of the colonies (Johnson 2010, 199). Even so, the importance of mercantilism is clearly demonstrated by the power of a merchant oligarchy within a provincial town (Howell 1967).

Colonialism had a major bearing on events, with Ireland and Scotland proving the flash points of the war (Kishlansky 1996, 138-140). The role of emigrating and returning settlers from the American colonies needs to be understood (Bliss 1990; Cressy 1987). Parallels between issues of territoriality (Seed 1995) and the development of vernacular military architecture in the colonies (Blades 1986; Loftfield 2001, 212) demonstrate these links between the centre and periphery, and can challenge the very concept of periphery.

### ***2.5.2 A Wider World View***

Many of the issues which exercised the minds of contemporaries and historians attempting to explain the apparently inexplicable mid 17<sup>th</sup>-century crisis in England are clear elsewhere in the world at this time. The central issues of contact and encounter, religious and social identity and social change are as relevant to northern Europe or Britain as they are in the wider Atlantic world. Parallels between the portrayal of native peoples and opposing groups in society need to be considered and analysed using the same constructs. Issues of territoriality, mission and conquest apply as much to the wars within Europe as to the competition in the colonies. Many of these themes occurred at the same time; with the earliest English commercial exploitation of Jamaica taking place, and arguably possible because of the revitalisation of maritime trade, during the

Commonwealth. Barbados was first settled by the British in 1627, and invaded ‘for Cromwell’ in 1655, although there had apparently been little sign of conflict during the earlier stages of the Wars (Loftfield 2001, 211-212). New England, like Ireland had settlements defended against feared and actual native uprisings (Deetz 1993, 41). Johnson has argued for the creation of a distinctively British identity with Britain and its colonies in the century between the Restoration and the American Revolution (Johnson 2010, 187-9). Conclusions cannot be directly translated between these two worlds, but the issues involved are part of the whole and must be studied as part of a wider network of cultural connections, rather than as ‘comparative’ material.

### ***2.5.3 Agency, Parochialism and the Short Term***

Much of the historiography of the Wars could be accused of parochialism (Courtney 1993). The terms have been deconstructed and recast as the English Revolution, the British Civil Wars or the British Revolution (Richardson 1998, 221-2) to reflect a slightly wider view, but similar debates and tensions existed within the other nations of Europe, and were played out at home and in the colonies. However, there were specific factors which made the Revolution uniquely English. Without specifically English concepts of monarchy, order and religion, the war would have taken a fundamentally different form, as it did in Scotland, Ireland and (arguably) Wales. English society reacted to these tensions differently than other nations. This is not to deny the fundamental influence of the disparate kingdoms of Charles I, but to acknowledge the diversity of cultures and the diversity of responses to more universal pressures. While global issues and trends influenced English society, whether the perspectives of most English people extended so far is debatable (Richardson 1998, 173-180).

Many global approaches to the study of the modern world present a deterministic, whiggish approach to history, where the present is inevitable and cultural change just another step in the long march of progress. The archaeological tendency to generalise can too often deny the importance of the individual and the multivalency of meaning. While never stated explicitly, this view of capitalism is implicit in the works of Leone and Potter (1999 and 2003). While Deetz (1996) could be criticised for the absence of Capitalism in his work (Croucher and Weiss 2011, 3), the sense of inevitable progress to the modern remains. Whig approaches to history revelled in and sought to explain the inevitable victory of parliamentary democracy, while modern approaches more often seek to critique the present by highlighting the injustices of the past (e.g. Leone and Potter 2003; Matthews 2004). More recent attempts to understand the nuances of social relations, (e.g Horning 2007a), move these studies beyond an understanding based merely on post-colonial approaches to power exchange.

Historiography of the English Revolution has frequently challenged the influence of long-term processes. Revisionist studies have questioned the influence of social and economic factors, focusing on high politics and the role of Charles I and his principal advisors (Russell 1991; Davies 1992; Kishlansky 1996); this focus remains in more recent works such as Adamson's (2007) *The Noble Revolt*. Counterfactual, or alternative histories intended to challenge the inevitability and the epistemology of Marxism have appeared (Ferguson 1997). The role of agency was central; Cromwell was imagined in his old age, farming in obscure respectability (Adamson 1997). The weakness of these counterfactuals is in their strength. They explore the 'might-have-been', and deliberately airbrush the specific events during which Cromwell rose from obscurity to quasi-regal eminence. To fully understand the period, the role of individuals acting within the context of their own time must be taken into account.

## **2.6 The English Revolution in Context**

Attempts to explain the causes of the war through either process or individual acts have proved unconvincing. The ‘unexplained revolution’ of the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century (Elton 1974) could not be accounted for without the identified prime cause being rapidly and easily dismissed. The unstoppable march of Parliamentary Democracy has not been accepted as a valid explanation for decades; statistical evidence for the decline of the gentry or of the aristocracy was shown to be unsound (Richardson 1998, 119). Charles was no tyrant and the Church of England remained steadfastly Calvinist in its theology (Davies 1992). There was no bourgeois class-consciousness amongst men of ‘the middling sort’ (Zagorin 1969). Rifts between organised Parliamentary ‘parties’ were illusory (Underdown 1971) and the influence of the Levellers and other radicals has been exaggerated (Sharpe 1989). Few certainties can be extracted from this morass of claim and counter-claim.

The cause and course of the English Revolution can only be understood in the interaction of long-term global factors with each other and with localised, often short-term issues; current historiography of the Revolution tends to focus on the short-term political events and personalities. The groups who contested the war were neither monolithic nor constant; sides were changed, friends betrayed and enemies reconciled. This is why the crisis of the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century is so important in understanding the development of the modern world. It is a period when the great debates, the haunts of historical archaeology, defined the context for action rationalised in the terms of its own age. Individual reactions clearly varied, and split along lines of regionalism, religion, politics and class but also within these wider groupings. It is in studying the interaction of rhetoric, action and process that these people can be understood on their own terms.

The true importance of historical archaeology for study of the English Revolution is not as a technique for better understanding material culture against text-based sources. Nor is it a technique for filling in the gaps or testing texts. It is a new approach to these sources which seeks to understand the general in terms of the specific, the specific in terms of the general and to query the sources in ways that a purely historical approach could not. This approach sees the gaps between compartmentalised histories of politics, society and warfare as opportunities to understand 17<sup>th</sup>-century urban society at its moment of crisis.

## **Chapter 3. Meaning, Civic Mentalities and Fortification**

### **3.1 Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is to review current archaeological and historical understanding of urban culture on the outbreak of the Wars and to show how a more theoretically-aware archaeological approach can enhance our understanding of the materiality of urban culture. I will critique existing archaeological approaches to the study of urban fortification before setting out the theoretical basis for my research. Archaeological conceptions of meaning will be reviewed as well as techniques for understanding that meaning in the context of the English Revolution. The work of documentary historians in understanding English urban society of this period is reviewed, and finally, an alternative approach - which is followed in the remainder of this thesis - for understanding the materiality of urban culture is proposed in terms of 17<sup>th</sup>-century cultural discourse.

### **3.2 English Civil War Fortifications; Existing Approaches**

As the central material expression that first sparked my interest in this period, urban fortifications are a logical place to start. I use the expression English Civil War fortifications advisedly. These fortifications have traditionally been studied, as has English Civil War archaeology in the wider sense, in terms of a fairly restrictive military history agenda that focuses solely on England and does not seek to understand the wider context of these works other than with reference to European practice (and even then, reference is made at a remove by comparison with contemporary translations of military manuals). Harrington analysed the form and layout of fortifications in almost purely functional terms, attributing deviations from the elaborate schemes propounded in contemporary military manuals and in continental practice to reasons of cost, expediency and inexperience; increasing professionalism on both sides led to an

improvement in the ‘quality’ and complexity of fortifications (Harrington 2003, 6). In developing this scheme, he followed the general analytical framework adopted by Hugh O’Neil over 40 years earlier.

*...at the outset, the King had the support of most of the nobility and the conservative north and west of the country, along with a number of soldiers of fortune, who during a generation of almost unbroken peace had learnt the art of war abroad. Parliament on the other hand... had few avowed fighting men... It is not surprising therefore, that for a while the king carried the day and came near to success. In the end, however, stamina, money and brains gave the victory to parliament... Once the New Model Army had been formed by them in 1645 the war was over in a few months (O’Neil 1960, 83).*

O’Neil’s view reflects the general opinion of military historians of the English Civil Wars. At the beginning of the war, the weight of military experience and resources was with the Royalists. To transfer the implications of this view to the material evidence, it could be expected that the Royalist defences were more professional in design and layout, more solidly built, and designed with military objectives in mind. In contrast, it could be expected that the defences of Parliamentary towns were less well-designed, slighter and intended to protect. By the later stages of the war, the Parliamentary armies were increasingly professional and experienced, and the difference was smaller. This view has remained implicit in many further studies of the English Civil War, particularly in Stoye’s (1996; 1998) studies of Exeter and Plymouth, and Atkin and Howes’ (1993) and Sturdy’s (1975) studies of Gloucester and London, but is rarely explicitly articulated.

Atkin’s (1991) study of the walls of Gloucester made a direct appeal to tactical function, developing a framework for understanding the constituent elements of an urban defensive scheme based on the five elements of defence that could be isolated in



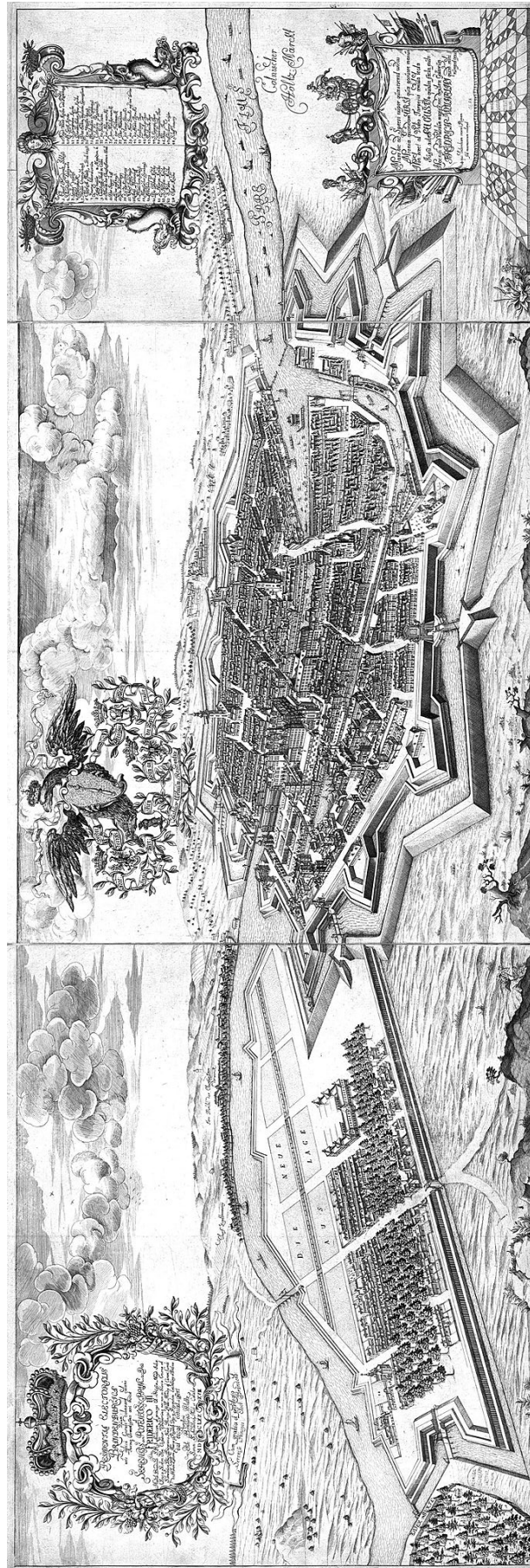
material terms: the bastioned trace; refurbishment of medieval walls; construction of new outworks; clearance of the suburbs and internal retrenchments. This was the first systematic archaeological characterisation of these fortifications, and remains an important analysis for understanding the adaptation of tactical schemes to local situations.

However, the cultural meaning of urban fortifications is too easily overlooked by analysing them purely in terms of technology, tactics and schools of military architecture. Such an approach ignores the conceptual and functional conflict between military architectural theory and the reality of urban fortification. To take the perspective of the military theorists of the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries as the sole arbiter of what fortifications should be is to deny the fundamental link between the warring groups and the cultures of which they were both part. This is particularly true of a civil war whose nature was characterised by local factors and fought (at least at first) by locally raised armies. As work at Gloucester (Atkin and Howes 1993), Plymouth (Stoyle 1998) and Northampton (Foard 1995a) has shown, the deviation of these fortifications from theoretical schemes does not necessarily arise from lack of experience or resources (cf. O’Neil 1960, 83), but from deliberate decisions, frequently made in the light of advice from ‘professional’ engineers. This suggests that factors other than purely military criteria influenced the form of these fortifications. Rather than studying these defences solely as military fortifications, we should also see them as civic building and town planning. To see these fortifications in purely military terms is to miss the opportunity to use them to better understand the nature of the society that had become so catastrophically divided. Rather than simply writing off variations from the textbooks as expedient or as evidence that ‘corners were cut’ (Harrington 2003, 6), archaeological studies should seek not only to understand these variations in their local context, but

also to question whether a purely military analysis is in itself entirely valid. As Carman put it with reference to battlefields:

*Battlefields are fields of a particular kind of action and the study of the battlefield is thus inevitably about human activity. This in turn reflects other aspects of society including general attitudes towards one another, towards landscapes and to the construction and use of space. Ultimately a concern with battlefields is a concern with understanding how people, space and environments are categorized and how those categorizations are reflected in systems of action and of use – in the past and in the present* (Carman 1999, 242).

A second interpretive strand has centred on the interpretation of European post-medieval urban fortifications, stressing the importance of the rise of ‘theatrical urban planning’ from the Renaissance onwards (O’Keeffe and Yamin 2006, 92) and examining the application of geometry to ordering and defining the built environment (Hirst 2005, 183). New bastioned fortifications, ‘vast starbursts of low stone walls, earthen ramparts and dry or water-filled fosses’ were built as part of much wider urban replannings typified by monumental schemes such as the rebuildings of Paris in the late-16<sup>th</sup> and early-17<sup>th</sup> centuries (O’Keeffe and Yamin 2006, 92). The parallel between formal planned cities and the formal planned gardens of the contemporary elite were clear; ‘... that the star-shaped ramparts of Louis XIV’s early 17<sup>th</sup>-century ramparts were used by citizens for leisurely... perambulations tells its own story’ (O’Keeffe and Yamin 2006, 93). This analysis draws on Hirst’s influential application of Foucault’s concepts of surveillance and power to geometric artillery fortification, which he saw in terms of the projection of social and political control and of the application of rational design (Hirst 2005, 183-4).



**Figure 3.1 Fortification as urban planning - Berlin in 1688 (Johann Bernhard Schultz (Staatsbibliothek Berlin), via Wikimedia Commons)**

This view resonates with studies that interpret towns as settings for processional and ritualised activities (Leech 1999; Graves 2003; Borsay 2006, and see the discussion of Graves 2009 in Chapter 7), and clearly sets the topic of urban fortification into the generalising theoretical framework at the heart of Orser's conception of historical archaeology (2.3 above). Two central weaknesses to this view must however be taken into account. First, this view understates the importance of war and military action. While fortifications should not be understood purely through tactics and military technology, it must still be acknowledged that these were important factors in informing their construction. These fortifications were theatres not just for the peacetime activities of the citizens or displays of power by their rulers, but also for the ritualised movement of people that was 17<sup>th</sup>-century warfare itself (compare Carman 1999, 242). Secondly, as Courtney (2006, 169) has pointed out, England was very different to continental Europe. By comparing Speed's *Theatre of the British Isles* (1612) with the roughly contemporary Blaeu's *Toonneel der Steden* (1652) it becomes clear that almost all of the 35 Dutch towns featured were protected by a bastioned defensive line. In England, by contrast, while the majority of towns were depicted as walled, only Berwick upon Tweed was shown with a bastioned trace. While the date of these sources differs, the dating of the structures does not; Berwick was fortified between 1550 and 1560, making its defences contemporary with the majority of Dutch urban fortifications which were built between 1540 and 1570. Similarly, the construction of citadels or fortified centres of authority within towns seems not to have happened in England before the English Civil War (Courtney 2006, 169). Even where bastioned defences were built during the English Civil War, their lasting impact on the urban landscape was minimal. It seems that the vast majority of these new defences had been abandoned before the Restoration, and those that were not demolished were overrun by the rapid urban expansion of the

later-17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Porter 1984; Atkin and Howes 1993; Foard 1995a). Hirst's (2005, 171) assertion that '...there was no simple and direct relation between the bastioned trace and the town plan or the social relations within the town wall...' is true in itself - Hall's (2000) work on the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Dutch colony at Capetown demonstrates how the meanings inscribed in these geometric town plans could be variously read - but falls into the same pitfall as the purely military historical analyses of Harrington and O'Neil. English fortification cannot be studied solely against a geometric archetype that never existed. Even in a European context, Blaeu's maps suggest that the perfect geometric schemes existed more in the minds of their designers than in the urban landscapes of 17<sup>th</sup>-century Holland.

In this case, the absence of types of fortification and urban planning that were observed in similar cultures is an issue that must be understood. It is itself a meaningful material expression of contemporary culture. Just as the divergence of these fortifications from the theoretical schemes proposed by 17<sup>th</sup>-century engineers and favoured as non-existent archetypes by Harrington and O'Neil must be explained in cultural terms rather than as a failed attempt to follow a preordained scheme, so must the divergence of these fortifications from a scheme based on modern theoretical suppositions. These questions are explored in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5, which consider the materiality of the fortifications and sieges of the English Civil Wars.



Figure 3.2 Plan of Breda (Blaeu 1652)

### 3.3 Archaeology, Architecture and Cultural Change.

#### 3.3.1 Cultural Meaning

As culture changes, so do the material expressions of that culture. Identifying and explaining an apparent change in material culture can lead to a new understanding of society both before and after that change. The corollary is that material culture change is an indicator of cultural change. It is generally accepted that the English Revolution saw sudden and radical social, political and cultural change (though the longevity and nature of this change remain subjects of intense debate). Similarly, the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century is by implication a locus for profound cultural change observed in the archaeological record outside England. That this period was identified by Deetz (1996), but never truly examined was primarily a result of Deetz' structuralist perspective, but subsequent archaeologists have not engaged with the period as wholeheartedly as with later periods, and this lack of engagement is particularly apparent within England.

As explored in Chapter 2, the influence of Deetz and subsequent scholars working in the historical archaeology of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries is such that any exploration of the origins of the Georgian is, to a greater or lesser extent, a dialogue with Deetz.

Importantly for my research, Johnson dealt with Deetz' (and subsequent historical archaeologists') failure to engage with the origins of the Georgian (Johnson 2006). In seeking to understand the origins of the Georgian World view, Johnson explored Hoskins' (1953) conception of a 'Great Rebuilding' between the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, considering the links between rural society and its material culture, arguing that changing conceptions of property and individuality led to increasing enclosure of previously communal spaces within the house, just as open fields were increasingly being enclosed (Johnson 2010, 87-8). This process of 'closure', and other instances where the 'pre-Georgian' and 'Georgian World View' were evidenced in England appeared not as the complete world views that Deetz had conceptualised, but as markers of profound cultural change and conflict (Johnson 2006, 319). For Johnson, the changes in English rural culture that can be traced back into the late medieval period were fundamental to understanding the development of the Georgian World View. Significantly, Johnson (2010) as Deetz sees the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century as a turning point; equally significantly for my research, the English Revolution is entirely ignored in this progression.

For archaeologists, material culture embodies and projects meanings ascribed in both the past and the present. These material expressions need not represent self-conscious decisions to create an 'argument in stone', but understanding the meaning in material culture is the key to an archaeological interpretation of English urban society.

Discussing traditional housing in East Anglia, Johnson reflected that 'what is true of material things is also true of enclosed space'; a built environment, a structure, a ship or

an urban landscape is just as suitable for archaeological study as any individual object (Johnson 1993, 12). Glassie (1975) explicitly equated houses with artefacts in the title of his study of American folk housing.

Objects, buildings and landscapes are entwined aspects of the material expression of 17<sup>th</sup>-century society. British archaeology of townscape has traditionally been focused on the development of townscape and its relation with rural hinterlands; issues of continuity and disjuncture are highlighted, and the aim has been to understand how the towns we know today have developed as they have (e.g. Higham 1989), a trend that has been reinforced in recent years by planning and conservation policy emphasis on charactering historic townscapes through archaeological and historical studies such as English Heritage funded townscape characterisation projects. More recently, the academic interest in townscape has moved from merely understanding development and character to dealing with the meanings of towns and townscapes as a whole. The carefully planned geometric and ordered urban plans and buildings of the later-17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries have been obvious subjects for attention. Various perspectives are represented. Mark Leone's (1984) Marxian reading of the William Paca House at Annapolis postulated the use of architecture to demonstrate the legitimacy and pre-ordained supremacy of the merchant elite of the town in the ordered symmetry of the gardens, while Johnson (2010) understood the layout of early-modern rural buildings as reflecting patriarchal and hierarchical family life with gender and status divisions inextricably linked to building layout and construction. The changing form of the English town after the English Civil Wars is considered at Chapter 7. Leech (1999) and Graves (2003) investigated the rituals of civic ceremonial as opportunities for townspeople who were frequently excluded to engage with urban government, and Graves (2009) offers a powerful reading of the urban fabric of Newcastle as a primer in



puritan theology and society. Johnson's (2010, 187) reading of the cultural change in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century England, while primarily based on rural communities identified an increasing uniformity of material culture and structure across Britain and its colonies which became 'Georgian'. However, cultural meaning is contingent upon context, because whilst all artefacts have cultural meaning the meaning of the same object can vary across space, time and audience (Hall 2000, 20; Johnson 1993, 12).

### ***3.3.2 Polyvalence***

Firstly, cultural meaning is polyvalent; an artefact holds different meanings to different people, or groups of people. This polyvalency has primarily been discussed in terms of power relations, with power, its display and crucially the interpretation of that display by different audiences has been influentially discussed by Martin Hall, who used a comparative approach to understand the meanings of buildings in 18<sup>th</sup>-century colonial contexts (Hall 1992 and 2000). Drawing on Foucault (1972) and Scott (1990), Hall saw structures such as the Castle at Cape Town or the grid plan of Annapolis as public transcripts of power that were part of a wider discourse of cultural and racial superiority that legitimised slavery and colonialism as much as any written text might (Hall 2000, 60-1). Hall also noted that the interpretations of these transcripts varied according to the reader. Communities, groups within those communities and individuals can ascribe meaning to specific actions, objects or buildings, and as meaning is negotiated at the personal as well as the corporate level, meaning can change according to who 'reads' the text that is embodied (Hall 1992, 380). Hall used the terms 'public transcript', and 'hidden transcript' to differentiate here (Hall 2000, 17). Public transcripts are '...overt statements made by those who control resources and hold positions of authority', hidden transcripts the readings of the oppressed (Hall 2000, 17). The elaborate gables of Cape planters' houses could be seen as symbols of freedom by the planters; the same gables

stood as powerful symbols of oppression to the slaves on whose labour the planters' wealth depended (Hall 2000, 17). Understanding the relationships between these transcripts is the key to understanding the relationship between the generalisations of cultural approaches and the specifics of interpretive archaeologies, and just as importantly allows understanding of the differences in meaning between apparently similar artefacts in different contexts (Hall 2000, 52-4).

### ***3.3.3 Change Over Time***

Secondly, the meanings of any object or structure can change over time. Structuralist studies which used a concept of grammar drawn from the work of semiotics and structural theoretical linguistics including Deetz (1977), but most famously Glassie (1975) approached the issue of understanding what the meanings of built structures were, but have been criticised for their ahistorical approach. For instance, Glassie did not address the social and historical context of the construction of the houses that he studied (Johnson 1993, 36). The meaning ascribed to an object in the present can be different to the meanings it had in the past. This is particularly important for a culture that was as bitterly contested as it was during the English Revolution, and where the debates have continued to resonate through subsequent centuries. Just as figures like Cromwell, Prince Rupert and 'Freeborn' John Lilburne played both hero and villain to contemporaries and have acquired completely new importance through modern reinterpretations, the meaning that is ascribed to sites as potent as Naseby, Marston Moor and St Georges Hill today is very different to those meanings with which contemporaries imbued them. Biographical approaches have proven particularly effective for unravelling the changes of cultural meaning over time, with Tarlow's (2008) artefact biography of Cromwell's head being one of the few archaeological explorations that explicitly relates to the English Revolution published during the course

of my research. Biographical approaches to a number of sites of memory of the English Revolution are explored further in this thesis at Chapter 8.

### **3.4 Civic Culture, Engagement and Government**

To understand the connections between English urban society and the English Revolution, it is important to understand the changing character of English urban society and the extent of its engagement with national political issues and causes. To documentary historians, the most important development in civic government during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries was the growing importance of towns as political entities and the changing nature and importance of urban elites. Tittler described civic government before 1640 as, '... increasingly oligarchic in form and mayoral in focus...' (1991, 101). Rule by a narrow clique of well-connected locals often bound by family ties was the norm within the major towns of England. This is not to say that there was always a consensus of opinion within an elite or that elites were static groups. Work on Newcastle (Howell 1967), Colchester (Goose and Cooper 1994), Exeter (Stoyle 1996) and Dorchester (Underdown 1992) shows significant dissent, internal conflict and mobility within the urban *cursus honorum*. Studies of Exeter (Stoyle 1996), Dorchester (Underdown 1992) and Gloucester (Clark 1982) show the freedom of action enjoyed by civic authorities, and argue that it was this independence that was the principal determinant of the form and course of the English Civil Wars. Early studies of popular allegiance during the English Civil Wars, focusing on rural communities, suggested that local gentry rarely looked beyond their immediate social network to inform their political views (Everitt 1969, 9-10). When extended into urban society, the county community, or 'neutralist' model suggested that civic authorities avoided committing themselves to any side until a clear self-interest could be found. Bristol's town council '...was dragged very reluctantly into a conflict which it did not want and had done its

best to avoid.’ (McGrath 1997, 93). Roger Howell’s work on Newcastle upon Tyne (1967, 1980) argued that issues of religion and allegiance were enacted within the town, but the principal drive was the survival of the mercantile economy on which the town and its elite depended. More recently, historians have argued for significant local political engagement with national issues. Stoye drew on his own and Underdown’s work in the rural West Country (Stoye 1994; Underdown 1985) to argue that Exeter’s civic leaders ‘...sought to subdue the King’s local supporters... moving Exeter slowly but firmly into the Parliamentary camp’ (Stoye 1996, 2). Underdown’s study of Dorchester leaves little doubt as to the importance of religion in determining allegiance (Underdown 1992), and Stoye’s work emphasized the importance of local issues, to the point where he explored the influence of Cornish ethnic identity to the character of the Wars in the Celtic territories of Wales, Scotland, Ireland and Cornwall (Stoye 2005).

The picture of English Civic government on the eve of the Wars is one of tension, with Royal government increasingly extending its influence into local affairs through legal expedients, direct political involvement, as the case of Bristol’s chamberlain’s elections of 1649 (Sacks 1990, 310) and increasingly authoritarian ecclesiastical government (Quintrell 1993, 81-6). Coupled with changing social and economic conditions and increasing local religious radicalisation, these processes encouraged and nurtured radical (or conservative, depending on which side of the debate can be believed) groups within civic government. While the position of the elites who controlled English civic society at a local level remained largely unchallenged, the composition, outlook and culture of those elites was changing, and could at times come into conflict with Royal authority, other groups within the local elite and local urban populations alike. Civic culture was changing, and as it changed it became contested.

In the sense of the interpretive scheme proposed by Hall, we could expect to see public transcripts reinforcing the discourses of Royal and local political authority, and hidden transcripts reflecting the response of local communities to the creeping extension of central and local governmental ambitions. The discourses involved were clearly articulated in text, and have been understood by documentary historians as focusing on two principal themes: the restatement of a divinely ordered social structure that was epitomised in both the ‘Great Chain of Being’ and the more abstracted theories of the Divine Right on the one hand, and on the other, the primacy of precedence and tradition, typified by appeal to history ‘from time out of mind’ and to the precedents of the English Common Law. In the next section, I intend to discuss three key areas to demonstrate the material expressions of these discourses, and understanding the public and hidden transcripts that were woven around the changing material world of the English town on the eve of the Wars.

### **3.5 Material Expressions in Early-Modern Towns**

While liturgy was an explicit material expression of specific cultural traditions, the link between meaning and materiality remained, even when it was not codified as explicitly as it was in liturgy. In the context of early-modern English towns, the specific ways in which material culture could be deliberately used to create new meaning, or alter existing perceptions of civic life - the public transcripts of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century town - fall into two main categories; civic ritual and civic building.

#### ***3.5.1 Ecclesiastical Building: Church Building after the Reformation***

The clearest examples of these transcripts that entwine both objects and words relate to areas where meaningful actions are explicitly ritualised. In the context of the English Revolution, this process was at its most obvious in the context of religious buildings

and liturgical planning. The parish church is a particularly effective example of how meanings that may seem abstracted and remote are given material expression in a form contingent upon contemporary culture. Just as the urban landscape was formed by the activities and interactions of everyday life and became a theatre for civic ritual (section 3.4.2), so the parish churches of 17<sup>th</sup>-century England were adapted by the changing society that used them to fulfil changing liturgical and theological purposes.

Medieval Roman Catholic worship required elaborate processional routes around churches even in relatively modest buildings such as that at Morebath in Devon (Duffy 2001, 25). Worship used a number of sensory references to invoke the divine and generate the context for the written liturgy (Giles 2007; Graves 2007). Side altars and chapels were instituted and maintained by guilds or accounts (Roffey 2003). Saints, the intermediaries between the individual and the divine, became specific patrons of these groups. This reciprocity was a sign of the interconnection of late-medieval society and its religious life (Kieckhefer 2004, 31; Duffy 2001, 176).

After the Reformation, the link between culture and liturgy remained central, but changed fundamentally. Increasingly, direct Royal intervention in society was particularly evident in churches. Recusancy laws required everyone to attend their parish church, where the Royal arms were displayed in place of the rood and Royal proclamations were read from the pulpit (Johnson 1996, 106). Organising conventicles, or gatherings outside the established church, was forbidden; attending Catholic services was treasonable.

While radical forms of Protestantism grew in strength and visibility, if not necessarily popularity, during the early-17<sup>th</sup> century, it was only after Laud became Archbishop of

Canterbury in 1633 that there was open conflict within the church (Acheson 1990, 28). The fundamental link between Royal authority, religious order and English culture meant that Laud's reassertion of the status of the clergy became part of the same governmental intrusion as the royal attack on the privileges of urban elites. Attacks in print on the religious order were tried in the courts of Star Chamber as sedition against the King, and often more severely punished (Quintrell 1993, 80). When the parishioners of Stratford St Mary protested their priest's railing in of the altar by not attending church and refusing to take the sacrament, this was an act of overt rebellion against Royal, as well as ecclesiastical authority (Johnson 1996, 107).



**Figure 3.3 Altar and rails installed at the Church of St Mary, Puddletown after the visitation of 1637 (Trish Steel, via Wikimedia Commons)**

Because the Laudian programme of church reconstruction and reordering was of minimal lasting material impact, the early-17<sup>th</sup> century is not known as one of the great eras of English ecclesiastical architecture, either for architectural innovation or the

quantity of church building that took place (Airs 1981, 118). The majority of known new English churches of this period were built in the style commonly referred to as Gothic Survival, which owed more to the perpendicular gothic of the late-medieval parish church than to the innovations of neo-classicism and continental Renaissance schools of architecture (Friar 2003, 422; Johnson 1996, 102), although some examples, such as the elements of Charles Church in Plymouth that were built before 1642 represent sophisticated use of older design principles (Mowl and Earnshaw 1995, 12). Even in Scotland, where a 'presbyterian' single-celled church plan predominated, Gothic remained the prevailing architectural school into the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Morrice 1982, 97-8). Decorative elements could display elements of the exuberant Jacobean style more familiar from domestic architecture, but little else had changed architecturally (Friar 2003, 422-3).

There is increasing evidence, however, that this traditional view of church construction and refurbishment significantly understates the importance of church rebuilding and refurbishment during the reigns of James and Charles. There has, as yet, been no comprehensive survey of the numbers of churches built, rebuilt or reordered during the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but the little research that has taken place suggesting that a putative Jacobean campaign of church building in London (Merritt 1998) is reflected across England (Fincham and Tyacke 2007, 106-110). A second period of reconstruction can be dated to after Laud's 1629 design to right the '...small decayes and ruines of parish churches and chappels...', which saw the introduction of the most controversial of the Laudian 'innovations'; the placing of the communion table 'altar-wise' (across the end wall of the chancel) and behind rails (Fincham and Tyacke 2007, 136). Spicer (2005, 210) estimated the number of new churches built at this time as at least 95, and possibly more. The most famous examples of early Stuart church building



are Inigo Jones' neo-classical Queen's Chapel at St James' Palace, built between 1623 and 1625 (admittedly for not-so clandestine Catholic worship), St Paul's Covent Garden, built in 1631 (Airs 1981, 117-118) and the restoration of St Paul's Cathedral in 1633 (Morrice 1982, 77). The importance of the latter has been overlooked as a result both of the destruction of Jones' work during the Great Fire and the sheer brilliance of Wren's later reconstruction. The total cost of Jones' reordering of St Paul's was around £112,000 (Fincham and Tyacke 2007, 235)

Even where the architecture of these churches was little altered, the ways in which they were used was changing. The increased importance (and length) of sermons altered the function and use of both pulpits and pews. Pulpits become more prominent, and while pews were already in use, their allocation according to property holding and status changed. Some pews could even be locked to reserve them for specific groups and families (Johnson 1996, 103). The order of precedence in seating was the 'Great Chain of Being' writ large, and has been explored in terms of the concern for order, privacy and individualism that are central to conceptions of modernity (Upton 1986, Johnson 1996). In many churches and particularly in Cathedrals, the seating in the choir had been appropriated by the secular elites, who were physically separated from the more lowly members of the community by railing and restrictions on access to the chancel (Fincham and Tyacke 2007, 240-1). This was analogous to the Dutch reformed churches, where the chancels of reordered Catholic Churches could be reserved for local dignitaries (Yates 2008, 47).

The reclamation of this space for the clergy was an affront not only to theological, but also social (as far as these concepts can be separated in the context of the 17<sup>th</sup> century) conceptions of order and precedence. The public transcript is of the re-establishment of

godly and cultural order; altars were raised to demarcate sacred space and control access to that space by the laity. The change from a communion table, where the elements were shared, to an altar where the Eucharist was distributed, was a powerful statement of exclusivity. The need for a priest to mediate between laity and the heavenly was restored and physically emphasised. The hidden transcript was of the exclusion of the civic elites from their former places of honour within the church and their demotion to the same seats as their social inferiors; an affront to their authority, as well as their theological sensibilities. Significantly, protest against these changes was expressed in terms of precedent and accepted practice. The protest was against 'innovation', no matter that the widespread use of communion tables and the removal of altar rails had commenced less than a century earlier.

### ***3.5.2 Civic Ritual***



**Figure 3.4 The arrival of Queen Mary of France, mother of Henrietta Maria in Colchester, 1638 (Colchester Libraries Local Studies)**

The social order of English civic life was represented within, and reinforced by communal rituals. At the risk of creating an artificial division between a ‘medieval’ and an ‘early-modern’ conception of communal rituals which David Underdown (1985) has shown to have been remarkably resilient, the century leading up to the Wars appears to have seen a significant change in civic ritual (cf. Phythian-Adams 1972). The removal of the religious meaning from the communal rituals of urban life meant that new forms needed to be created to legitimise authority (Tittler 2001, 12-13). Even so, closer to the Wars, many of the surviving rituals were proscribed as ‘popish’ and conducive to disorder (Tittler 2001, 16). Remnants of ‘superstitious’ or unruly customs were swept away, often to be replaced by new rituals and ceremonies of power (Underdown 1992, 43); where money had once been lavished on the physical institutions of the Catholic Church, town preachers, or ‘lecturers’ were employed (Tittler 2001, 16). The peak of the influence of these town lecturers was in the years leading up to the Wars, where characters such as Samuel Ward in Ipswich (Reed 1981, 97) became increasingly influential. In parallel with an increasing exclusivity of the upper reaches of urban governments, with the locking of council chambers during business (Tittler 1991, 119) and the reduction in the pool from which higher civic officials were recruited (Howell 1967, 44; Sacks 1990), civic ritual itself became exclusive. Even at the lowest levels of local government and administration, precedence was closely observed, with access to parish records being physically controlled by the acquisition of lockable parish chests (Griffiths 1997). Ritual was restricted, not just in which activities were proscribed, with many of the more popular ceremonies, such as the Chester Calves-Head breakfast being suppressed, but also in who could take part and where these rites were performed (Tittler 1991; 2001). This is not to say that popular involvement in political life ended, but that with exclusion from the formal civic government, popular involvement

increasingly took different forms of expression, particularly after the Wars, such as bear baiting and bull running (Borsay 1984, 234). Civic ceremonial, and particularly public processions, offered a rare chance for local communities to participate in the rituals of government (Graves 2003). As late as 1743, the grand procession of the Mayor and the guilds to open the new Exchange in Bristol was carefully arranged in order of precedence (Leech 1999, 19). The link between this increasing exclusivity and the dominant discourse of order and precedence expressed as the 'Great Chain of Being' is clear; civic ritual increasingly became the explicit display of power and order.

While it may never be possible to recover most of the civic rituals of the early-modern English town through archaeology alone, these rituals left lasting traces on the urban landscape, potentially adding a whole new dimension to studies of activities that cannot always be appreciated solely through text. The conception of the urban landscape as a theatre for displays of power and legitimation is central to recent historical archaeological studies of towns (O'Keeffe and Yamin 2006, 92), and the conception of movement and activity as the material expression of 'ritual' activity is a central theme in studies of prehistory that has been adapted as a tool for the archaeological study of warfare as ritualised movement (Carman 1999, 242). In this latter conception, 'obscurities' or inexplicable decisions and actions are 'indicative of the difference in time and place... from today' (Carman 1999, 242). Discussing Ben Jonson's play *Bartholomew Fair*, Leech pointed out that the booths described by the playwright were actually substantial new houses that had replaced the traditional booths shortly before the time of writing (Leech 1999, 20-1). The urban landscape had changed, but its meaning in the context of civic ritual had not. Leech also juxtaposed the solemn ceremonial procession of the Guilds and Common Council through Bristol for the opening of the new Exchange with the contemporary daily 'procession' to the common

privies at Bristol Bridge (Leech 1999, 21). This form of ritualised activity spread to a level below the grand displays of pomp and civic authority. Owners of large townhouses might enjoy activities such as ‘walking the leads’ (Heslop *et al.* 2001), just as they used galleries to participate, at a remove, in civic processional (Graves 2003). Those wealthy enough to have the time could promenade in recently-built planned avenues, parks and squares (Borsay 2006). Even the puritanical habit of ‘gadding’ between different sermons was another example of a ritualised movement as a display of godliness, respectability and (in the later years of Laud’s archiepiscopate) of dissent and resistance. If towns were theatres for displays of power and wealth by urban elites, either as individuals or corporate bodies, then buildings were the sets against which these dramas were acted out. In this way, civic ritual shaped the changing form of the early-modern town, particularly (from the late-17<sup>th</sup> century) through the creation of ‘polite’ urban spaces, such as the grand facades of Bath and London (Borsay 1989 and 2006).

The obvious parallel here is with Deetz’ concept of the ordering of private space to reflect a new ‘Georgian’ cultural worldview in the late-18<sup>th</sup> century. For other scholars of 18<sup>th</sup>-century American town planning, the institution of a formal grid plan has been seen as a public demonstration of the victory of the enlightenment mind, science and technology over nature; a rejection of the past and a statement of modernity (O’Keeffe and Yamin 2006, 93-5). In Annapolis, the William Paca Mansion, standing within a geometrical, planned urban landscape has been argued to be a statement legitimising the power, status and even the very existence of the elite (Leone 1984), a view resonating with Hall’s (2000) comparative analysis of slave-owning planters in New England and the Cape, though without Hall’s nuanced understanding of the polyvalency of material meaning. The concern of individuals to legitimate their own position to others, both outside and within their own social groups, were crucial in this process of the creation

of a corporate identity. Individual wealth and concern for status and legitimation found expression in culturally determined material expressions. This process is so fundamental that it can be seen to have pervaded to all levels of activity in this period. Matthew Johnson reassessed Hoskin's 'Great Rebuilding' in 17<sup>th</sup>-century England, demonstrating the parallel between enclosure of open fields and the increasing tendency to subdivide space within rural houses (Johnson 1993, 2010), creating private spaces where communal activities had once taken place. In retreating into its own homes, English society increased the importance of public ritualised activity and display as a mode of interaction with others, regulating encounters with others with an increasing formality that was increasingly built into the fabric of the early-modern town.

### ***3.5.3 Civic and Public Building***

Specific trends have been identified within civic and public building in early-modern England. These include the development of the Town Hall as a seat of authority and of increasingly exclusive civic government (Titler 1991) as well as a rise in the number of public buildings such as assembly rooms and theatres (Chalklin 2001, 33-5). Most of these relate to the massive expansion in civic expenditure in the century after the Wars, however (Chalklin 2001, 33-5), particularly the planned redevelopment of towns like London during the late-17<sup>th</sup> and early-18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Braudel 1973, 79).

The presence of the Catholic church and monastic institutions had provided specific outlets for personal expenditure in the public sphere before the reformation, but the speed of progress and the uncertainties of the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century had made the start of the new era a faltering one (Phythian-Adams 1972). An apparent decline in civic building of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, supposedly connected with the general malaise within civic government that has been variously categorised as a crisis or decline of the late-

medieval town (Dobson 1977, 278-282), reflects the absence of the traditional church-based modes of expenditure, though the universality of this phenomenon has been challenged (Dyer 1991, 43-9), and Tittler (1991) has demonstrated how new secular works took up some of the 'missing' expenditure.

Crucially, the new elements of the urban landscape were largely built and organised through the guild system, the underpinning structure of English urban life that had reached new significance in the later Middle Ages and now formed the basis of urban government and civic life. The relative absence of new church building reflected changing patterns of charitable donations and population fluctuations as well as in some cases, as at Colchester, the apparent over-provision of churches in many towns.

Theatrical urban planning, the mark of modernity in the American and European contexts (O'Keefe and Yamin 2006, 93) was largely absent from English towns before the Wars, with the later-17<sup>th</sup> century seeing the first large-scale replannings of English towns (see also Chapter 7).

In many cases, purely archaeological evidence for this period can be difficult to assess. Archaeological work within English towns has been severely limited by practicalities, and where this work has taken place, later structures and features have often suffered for the sake of more 'important' earlier structures buried below them (Matthews 1999, 157). Also, the remains of later periods tend to be the most heavily disturbed by modern construction and the appearance of boarded floors and refuse removal means that much 17<sup>th</sup>-century material culture was never deposited in the way that the material remains of earlier periods were (Matthews 1999, 157). Survival of individual buildings and structures can be variable, and is affected by a multitude of unrelated factors (Johnson 1993). While the celebrated architectural heritage of many English towns tends to

include examples of the largest, finest and in many ways the least typical buildings, many of these, such as Newcastle's late 17<sup>th</sup>-century Mansion House, built as a mayoral residence amongst the wealthy merchant's houses and warehouse on the quayside (see 7.2.4 below), have not survived to the present. Even so, there is much that can be said about English towns in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century from an archaeological perspective.

### **3.6 Fortifications, Discourse and Resistance**

#### ***3.6.1 Fortification as Civic Building***

For much of the early-modern period, forms of civic construction are generally held to include markets, town halls and communal spaces. For their impact on the urban landscape and on contemporary understandings of what a town actually comprised, however, the most significant constructions were surely fortifications. Medieval English towns of any size had generally been walled. Estimates vary between 130 identified walled towns and an estimated total of over 200 (Kenyon 1990, 183). While many of these walls had not been maintained, not all were ancient and crumbling ruins. London's ditch and walls had been restored as recently as 1477, though both appear to have rapidly fallen back into disrepair. In the century preceding the Wars, Hull, moreover, Plymouth, Carlisle, Berwick upon Tweed and Yarmouth had all been provided with modern artillery fortifications and strategic towns around the South and East coasts such as Plymouth, Harwich, Dover and Lowestoft had been furnished with forts.

For the duration of the Wars, a more universal phenomenon was the construction and repair of town fortifications. The construction, maintenance and garrisoning of urban defences required an investment far beyond anything that facilitated the comparatively minor public building campaigns taking place before the start of the Wars. Estimates of



cost are notoriously unreliable and difficult to interpret, but the costs cited by Tittler for the construction of town halls rarely exceeded £400, with the absolute maximum the £782 paid by the citizens of Exeter in 1593 (Tittler 1991, 52). By contrast, the centrally-funded fortification of Berwick has been estimated as costing at least £33,000 (O'Neil 1960, 71-2). Londonderry's walls, built between 1613 and 1618 cost the Corporation of London £27,197 (O'Neil 1960). Estimates of the cost of the English Civil War works at Northampton range from the £2,470 actually recorded as having been spent on this purpose and the £6,500 calculated from the rate per perch quoted to the town by its engineers, to which the unpaid labour provided by prisoners of war and townspeople also needs to be added (Foard 1995a, 40). How this money was raised, and how the workforces necessary to construct these monumental schemes (often in very short periods of time) were recruited is a central issue.

These practical and logistical concerns were important; not just for the big issues of funding, construction and destruction, but also in the subtle changes to daily life brought about by the fortifications. Access to property and farmland could be altered, gun platforms could impinge on the yards of urban houses, industrial and commercial activity could be disrupted. Fortification had subtle, but no less fundamental impacts on the many meanings of the urban landscape.

There are cases, such as Dorchester or King's Lynn where it can be argued that fortification represented either a deliberate act of resistance to the established order of royal rule (Dorchester - Underdown 1982) or militant Parliamentarianism (King's Lynn - O'Neil 1960). In Exeter, the godly town authorities resisted a rumoured plan to rebuild the castle in the 1620s, comparing it to the citadel at Antwerp which had been used by the Spanish to overthrow the Protestant merchant rulers of the town (Stoyle 1996, 27).

In the appeal to the embattled Protestants of the Low Countries and their Habsburg rulers, the act of fortification was loaded with connotations of both freedom and oppression.

The meaning of the old town walls and the new fortifications could be yet more subtle. Rather than mere expressions of allegiance, walls were a much more fundamental expression of the corporate identity and legitimacy of a town; town walls signified the boundary of a legally defined and confined space and were the material confirmation of charters granted by ancient kings and rights held since time immemorial. They were the guarantors of a commonwealth in which Royal and Parliamentary government had to be continued with the consent and support of the nation.

### 3.5.2 Newcastle's Town Wall

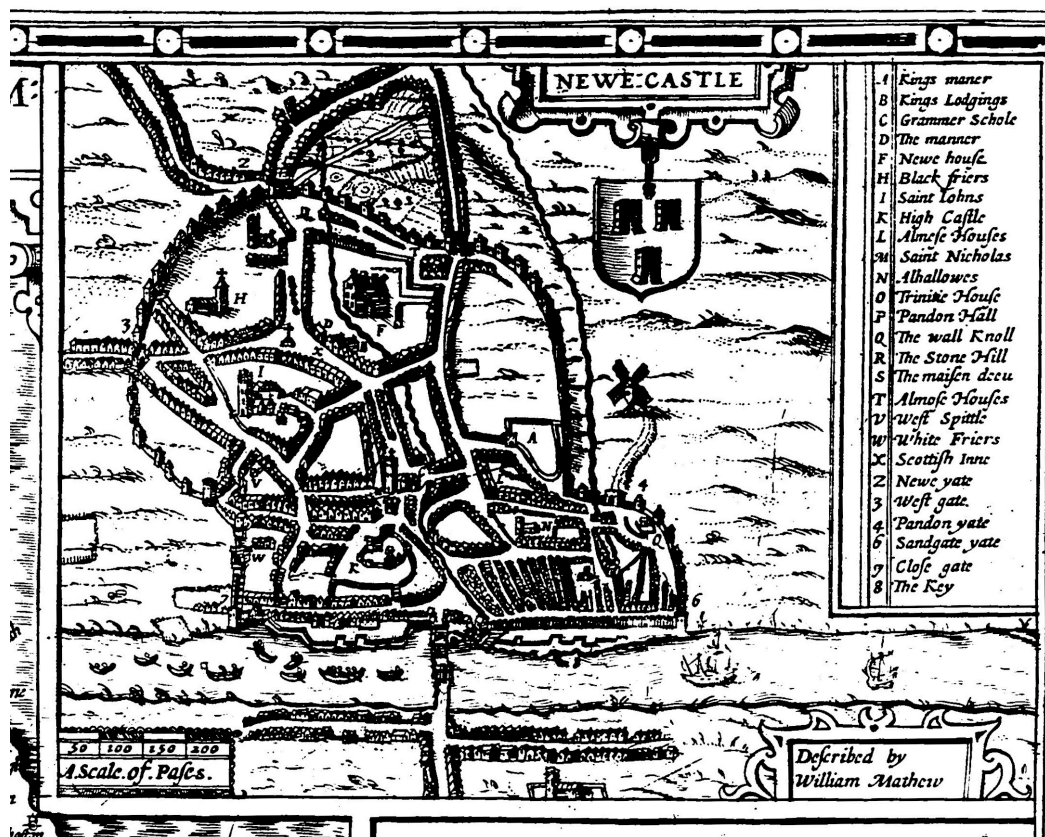


Figure 3.5 Speed's (1612) map of Newcastle upon Tyne, showing the extent of suburbs to the West (Westgate), north-west (Newgate), and North (Pilgrim Street Gate). The

**riverfront suburbs of Closegate (West) and Sandgate (East) appear to have been more extensive than shown by Speed.**

The town walls of Newcastle were built over the course of several campaigns of construction during the later half of the 13<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. They were erected against a backdrop of the end of a period of rapid urban expansion which had seen the laying out of streets, the reclamation of the Tyne foreshore, the beginnings of a quay east of the newly-rebuilt Tyne Bridge and the foundation of monastic houses (Fraser and Emsley 1973; O'Brien *et al.* 1988; Mabbitt 2006). The town had enjoyed sustained Royal support since the creation of the merchants' guild in 1208. A grant of murage (the right to levy tax on trade goods for the specific purpose of building a town wall) had been granted by Edward I in 1291, but some parts of the wall appear to have been in place before 1280, when a permission to open a postern at Blackfriars was granted (Holmes 1896, 1).

*The strength and magnificens of the waulling of this towne far passith al the waulles of the cities of England and of most of the townes of Europa.* (Leland *Itinerary*, f. 104; Toulmin Smith 1964, 60)

Leland's description of the town walls in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century emphasises their strength, but crucially fails to mention the involvement of the monarch. By contrast, his description of the construction of Newcastle's walls celebrated the mercantile elite. The hold of the latter over local authority was comparatively recent, stemming from the 16<sup>th</sup>-century economic boom brought about by the effective monopoly on trade granted to Newcastle in 1530 and increasingly generous leases of colliery rights (Fraser and Emsley 1973, 16; Howell 1967).

*The waulles of Newcastelle were begon... in King Edwarde the firste day... by this occasion. A great riche man of Newcastelle was taken prisoner by the Scottes owte of the town... Whereupon*

*he was raunsomid... and returning home he began to make a waulle on the ripe of Tyne river...*

*The residew of the marchauntes of the toune seying this towardness of one man, sette to their helping handes, and continued ontylle the hole toun was strongely aboute waullid, and this worke was finished in Edwarde the 3. dayes, as I have harde. (Itinerary, ff. 104-6; Toulmin Smith 1964, 59-60)*

This picture is very similar to that painted by Gray in his *Chorographia*, first published in 1649. Here, the walls are described among the sources of Newcastle's fame:

*This towne famous, being a bulwarke against the Scots; all the power of Scotland could never win it, since the walls were built...*

*Newcastle likewise excells in foure things before spoken.*

*1. The towne, walls, gates, towers and turrets (Gray 1649, 92)*

The reality was that Jacob Astley, commander of the King's army in Newcastle in the preparations for the First Bishop's War, had written in 1638 that the town was effectively indefensible (Welford 1887; NA SP 16/409) against any serious military threat; that the town had surrendered without a fight in 1640; and that the town walls had been breached in at least three or four places during the siege of 1644. John Marley, the Mayor and leader of the town's resistance to the Scots in 1644 had to move 'the high and great Heap, viz. the Dung-Hill on the West-side of the Castle' (Lithgow, quoted in Ellison and Harbottle 1983, 136). Even as Gray was writing his urban history, workmen were repairing the breaches at Whitefriars, Sandgate and St Andrew's. This work was recorded in the Common Council minutes:

*Agreed between the Mayor and Common Council and Thomas Taylor and other free masons, namely William Pattison, Cuthbart Maxwell and Cuthbart Thompson that the said men would - on or before the last day in October - take down and rebuild a breach in the town wall near a place called Pink Tower, being 55 yards in length, 9 feet in thickness and about 6 yards in height. They are to*

*receive £95 for the work, paid weekly in relation to the amount of the work completed* (TWAS 589/4 f. 165).

These variations in perspective evident in these two descriptions of the walls are just one example of the way in which urban foundation myths, civic history and civic portraiture were employed, after the Civil War, in the creation of a collective, but imagined past (Tittler 1991 and 2001). This theme is developed in my discussion of the development of the memory of the siege of Colchester at Chapter 8. The key to the meaning of the medieval walls lay in their importance in creating a corporate identity through their embodiment of legitimacy granted to the town as a corporate body, and to its elite as the rightful rulers of that community. For a society obsessed with discourses of status, precedent and authority, the town walls were a material expression not only of civic identity, but as visible and tangible symbols of the antiquity of the rights and privileges of civic society. At a time when Royal policy seemed to be bent on increasing royal power at the expense of the localities, walls stood for an imagined golden age when the leading burgesses of a town were masters in their own homes. Rather than looking forward, Newcastle's urban society was deliberately looking backwards towards a very selectively edited vision of the past.

### **3.7 Conclusion: Materiality, Discourse and Urban Society**

The material world of the English town of the early-17<sup>th</sup> century was a politicised space. Old - and in many cases, not-so-old - certainties were being challenged by the emergence of a dominant local elite which increasingly came into direct conflict with a monarchy that was seeking to restate its own role within the accepted order. Cultural meaning was inscribed onto this world, which served at once to reflect and reinforce the dominant discourses of order and precedence, but at the same time offered foci for resistance. In setting out the generalities of this material world, I have set a context for

the discussion of the specific material manifestations of the English Revolution that are considered in the following five chapters of this thesis.

## **Chapter 4. Fortification**

This chapter examines the material and documentary evidence for the fortification of English towns during the Wars. The form of and influences on these defensive works are examined, and The response of urban communities to the outbreak of civil war is understood, first through the case study of Newcastle upon Tyne, and through the wider context in England. Links between the fortifications and urban communities are understood in terms of funding, local involvement in their construction and the effect of new or refurbished fortifications on the urban world. Past interpretations of urban fortification, principally in terms of military architecture or political allegiance are critiqued, and new interpretations are proposed with reference to power relations, enclosure and material from the English colonies in Ireland and North America.



Figure 4.1 Title page of Hobbes' *Leviathan* (Waller 1904, f.p. viii)

## 4.1 The Cultural Significance of Fortification

### 4.1.1 Meaning and Fortification

Given the renewed importance and shifting meanings of urban fortifications in this period it is not surprising that the title page of the 1651 first edition of Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* is dominated by a drawing of the Leviathan towering over a walled town, a



powerful image which sets urban society as a microcosm of the commonwealth, a city living at peace with itself within the city walls. Military, civil and ecclesiastical governance are represented in the walls, the citadel and the cathedral. The walls stand for the need to defend the life of the community at the expense of the freedom of action of both the monarch and the liberty of the subject, Hobbes' central theme. This concern for fortification was not unique to Hobbes. Drawing on the scriptural description of the City of Heaven (Revelations 21, 12-12), John Bunyan, who had been a common soldier in the Parliamentary army at the first siege of Leicester, imagined the walls of the City of Heaven as a fundamental part of its existence.

*And observe it, that of all the particulars... of this city, and of all her glory, the first thing that he presenteth to our view is her safety and security; she 'had a wall.' A wall, you know, is for the safety, security, defence, and preservation of a place, city, or town; therefore it is much to the purpose that in the first place after this general description, he should fall upon a discovery of her security and fortification; for what of all this glory and goodness, if there be no way to defend and preserve it in its high and glorious state? (Bunyan 1665)*

During the English Revolution, this could mean the construction of fortifications similar to, if not necessarily as complete as those shown by Hobbes' illustrator. This material culture of warfare is an important strand of evidence when studying cultural and social change during the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century; it allows archaeologists to investigate the interrelation of culture and war and the ways in which 17<sup>th</sup>-century urban society ascribed meaning to the material remains of their world and the medieval past to negotiate social interaction and to legitimate the contemporary cultural order.

These cultural meanings could be very specific. They could be subtle and complex, and often varied according to who 'read' them. To understand these meanings, it is necessary to understand a specific example within its wider context. For this purpose,

almost any of the larger provincial capitals could be chosen, but Newcastle upon Tyne is particularly effective. The society and politics of the town have been studied in great detail by Howell (1967 and 1980), and his interpretation stands as one of the fullest studies of any town during the English Revolution. Howell's purely documentary approach counterpoints any archaeological engagement with the period, allowing any narrative to focus on the material evidence, while Graves' (2003, 2009) work on the material world of 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup>-century Newcastle offers valuable archaeological engagement with the issues that concern my thesis. Newcastle was fortified and besieged, twice coming under military occupation by the Scots. It was, and still is, a town with a strong local identity and with a complex web of social, economic and political relationships with its neighbours, including the Scots and the Bishop of Durham. Its wealth derived from its control of the coal trade along the East coast to London, meaning that developments in the local situation could be, and were felt in London. Any detailed study, however, would be of little use taken on its own, and this is the weakness of many of the archaeological studies of the period. In focusing on local issues, the wider context is lost. This context is vital to understanding Newcastle's place in the Revolution. Indeed, the Revolution was the wider context.

Over twenty years ago years ago, Kenyon observed that studies of medieval urban fortifications in England had been rather neglected (Kenyon 1990, 183), a conclusion that remains largely true today. To qualify this, it is not so much that archaeological research on town walls has been lacking, but much of this work has been piecemeal and either remains unpublished or has been published in formats that are not readily accessible. In addition, town walls are frequently protected heritage assets, which are consequently rarely subject to development requiring archaeological intervention. Wider synthetic studies of town walls have been neglected, and textbooks discuss topics which

reflect the enormous volume of archaeological work carried out primarily through developer-funded fieldwork in English towns and cities, such as waterfront development, building traditions and trade rather than urban fortification (e.g. Schofield and Vince, 2005).

The urban fortifications of the mid-17th century are even less-well served than their Roman and medieval predecessors. There have been a few descriptive detailed surveys of the fortifications of individual towns, most notably Newark (RCHM 1964), Exeter (Stoyle 1995) and Gloucester (Atkin 1991), with a brief chapter in *Castles and Cannon* (O'Neil 1960) providing some form of context. Harrington's (1992 and 2004) reviews of archaeological work reflect the fragmentary and superficial level of archaeological engagement with the period.

The deceptively simple observation, already noted in Chapter 1, is that before the Wars, English towns of any size were surrounded by walls that had been conceived or rebuilt during the Middle Ages. After the war, towns were no longer fortified as corporate entities. This may appear to be a clear instance of the changing nature of the state and the forcible end of the medieval town as royal policy separated the spheres of military and civilian life: a separation that was fundamental to the creation of 'modern' society. However, in hindsight this conclusion is dangerously simplistic, carrying with it the teleology that is an ever-present risk in a discipline concerned with the explanation of the forces that shape the modern world (Orser 2004, 19-25). Closer study of this phenomenon and these fortifications facilitates a more complex, nuanced and interesting understanding of this apparent watershed.

Modern understanding of urban fortification in the post-medieval period is based on two principal factors: the medieval conception of the town, and the development of a detailed and prescriptive technical literature and language of fortification.

#### ***4.1.2 Traditions of Urban Fortification***

Medieval English towns were walled. Some of these large towns, such as Oxford, were walled before the Norman Conquest, while others, like York, could trace the origins of their walls back to the Roman period. In many cases, these early walls had been maintained and modified. Elsewhere, as at Coventry and Newcastle, town walls were built during the high middle ages. The next tier of towns, larger market towns and regional centres such as Alnwick, Hereford or Carlisle, generally had walls of similar age, though it was more common to find unenclosed towns in this category. The exact form, construction and effectiveness of these walls varied, but the conception of a town as a walled entity remained constant.

This was not a purely English conception. While there were significant regional and national variations, walled towns had been common throughout Western Europe since Late Antiquity (Friedrichs 1995). Various interpretations have been put forward to explain their military, economic and symbolic functions, but as I intend to show, by the 17<sup>th</sup> century, meanings had been ascribed to these walls and they formed a major element of the identity of an urban community, regardless of their designed purpose or condition. The presence and form of medieval town walls, and the meanings that they came to embody, both in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and today, has influenced historical and archaeological conceptions of urban fortification.

#### 4.1.3 Theory and Practice

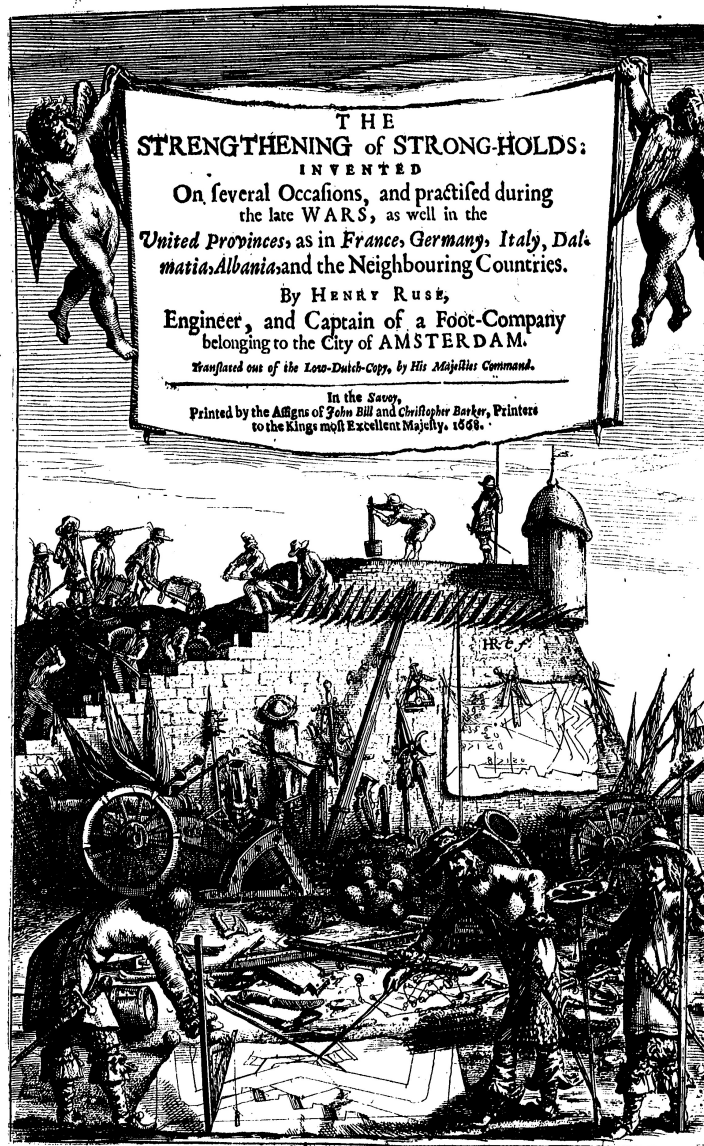
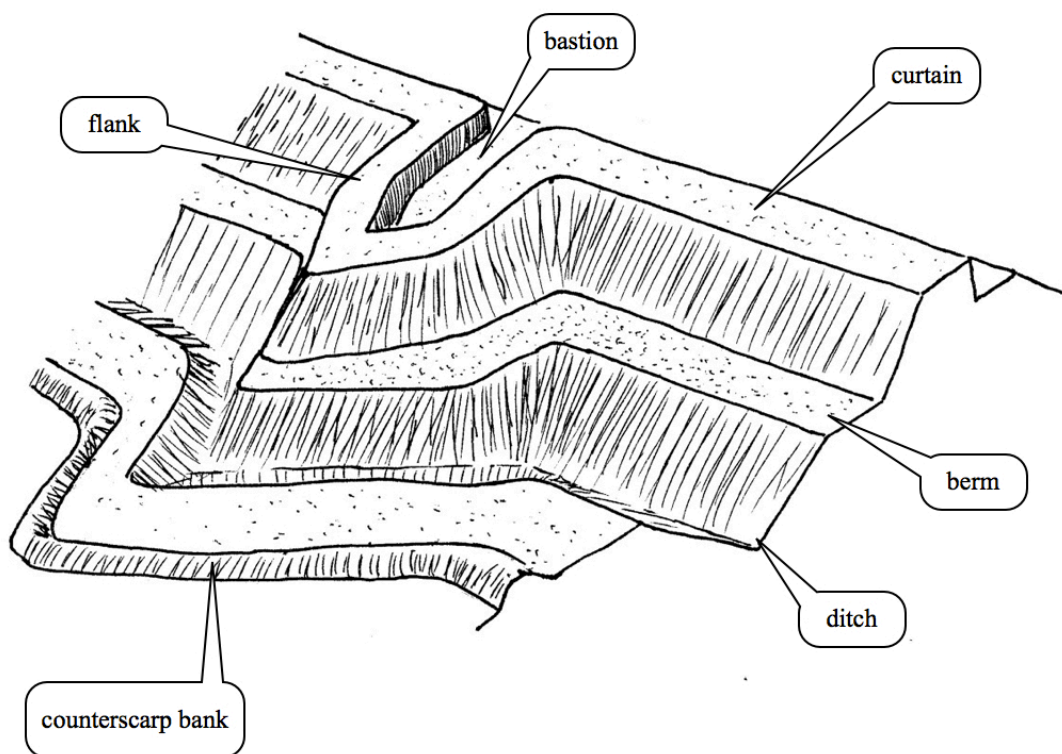


Figure 4.2 Title page of Ruse's *Strengthening of Strongholds* (1668)

The other significant influence on historical and archaeological conceptions of town walls in this period is the contemporary and subsequent technical literature on fortification. In the modern literature (e.g. Harrington 2004; Ross 1887), 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>-century military textbooks have been used as significant comparative sources for the study of 17<sup>th</sup>-century defences. The first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century saw a proliferation of military manuals and handbooks, a manifestation of the emergence of bastioned gunpowder fortifications and the development of military drill and discipline referred to

as the European Military Revolution, (Parker 1988). Although military experience appears to have been of secondary importance in England, authors of these works included Papillon, who served as an engineer at Gloucester, Northampton and Banbury (Foard 1995a). These textbooks appear to have been widely read at the time, and have formed the basis of many later scholars' conceptions of 17th-century fortifications. The preface to Papillon's (1645) *Practicall Abstract of Fortification*... noted that:

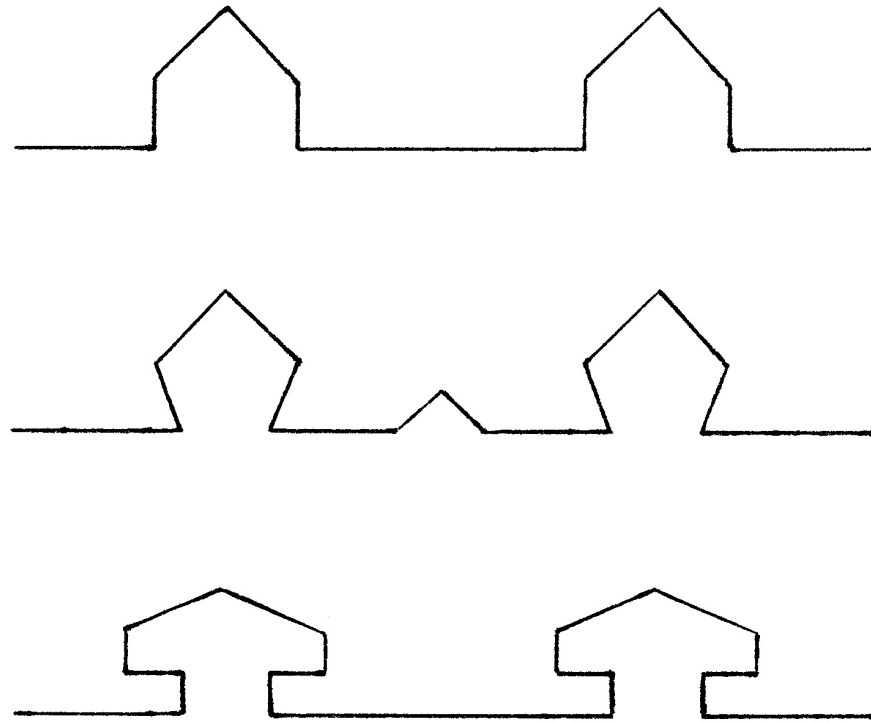
*...the theoricall writings of Mr Ward, Mr Cruso, Mr Norwood and the author of the Enchyridion, have rather encreased the ignorance of meane capacities, than their knowledge in the practice of these Arts: for I have conversed with some, that had all their rules upon their finger's ends, that could not set out a superficie in the field to any purpose... (Papillon 1645, preface).*



**Figure 4.3 The naming of the parts; significant elements of mid-17th century fortification**  
The most detailed analysis of this literature and its technical terminology is provided by Ross (1887, 9-16), who compared the stated definitions and usages within the textbooks. The Italian School of fortification was the earliest, and even to

contemporaries was almost indistinguishable from the Spanish School (Ross 1887, 10). The French School of fortification was characterised by small projecting works (or ravelins) and bastions with flanks that joined the curtain at an acute angle. Fortification on the model of the Dutch School was, to some contemporaries, the ‘most absolutest’ (Ward 1639, 72) and this is generally accepted as the basic model most commonly used in England during the 17<sup>th</sup> century (O’Neil 1960, 84). The characteristic elements of this school were cited as the use of bastions whose flanks met the curtain at right angles and the use of a wet ditch with a ‘false bray’, or outer (counterscarp) bank providing a first line of defence (Ross 1887, 15). O’Neil cites this as the most common model for fortification; while this may have applied to field and detached works, urban fortifications appear to have used a wide variety of fortifications that did not necessarily follow any specific model. While the Dutch School was clearly influential, the reality on the ground was more complex, as O’Neil acknowledged:

*‘Between those who set down in writing a set of rules for subjects such as fortification, and those who have to carry out the work in the field there is a great gulf fixed’ (O’Neil 1960, 85)*



**Figure 4.4 Comparative sketch plans of bastions of the Dutch (top), French (centre) and Italian/Spanish (bottom) Schools of fortification. Not to scale.**

Military textbooks could go to great lengths to codify the different terms and types of work and to describe how to set out regular and irregular polygons; this detailed and technical terminology has created a false image of the precision with which these terms were used. Ross (1887, 13) noted a degree of debate and disagreement in the technical literature, and when compared with descriptions of works by non-technical authors, or based on second-hand accounts, the precision of the terminology used becomes suspect, particularly given that authors such as Lithgow sought to demonstrate their learning by including as many technical, preferably foreign, terms as was possible. Coupled with the use of much more general terms, particularly ‘fort’, ‘bulwark’, and to a lesser extent ‘sconce’ (which could be used seemingly indiscriminately for both attached and detached works) this means that excessive reliance on precise terminology becomes dangerous. For example, the strongpoints in the bastioned lines at Chester which were referred to as ‘forts’ (Ward 1987) were built from the beginning as elements of a



continuous line, while the ‘forts’ in the extended lines at Plymouth were originally built as detached outworks (Stoyle 1998).

The detailed technical literature and the scale of continental European fortifications of this period contrast with the archaeological evidence for these fortifications. There are few towns where the 17<sup>th</sup>-century defences have been observed, and several others such as Wem in Shropshire, where despite prolonged campaigns of archaeological study, documented defences remain elusive (Dalwood 1996). Surviving antiquarian descriptions taken with the absence of substantial archaeological remains of the works built during the Wars has led many authors to argue that English fortifications were less substantial and less carefully planned than those on the continent. The lack of evidence for any substantial fortification of Leicester was taken to show that ‘...the new military professionalism... had clearly only been partially absorbed in England, even after three years of Civil War’ (Courtney and Courtney 1992, 82). Soon afterwards, however, a 10m wide ditch datable to the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century and containing musket balls was excavated at Leicester (Harrington 2004, 27).

Where schools of fortification can be identified, itself a contentious business, the Dutch school predominates on the ground as it did in the literature, though few defences can be said to show only characteristic elements of the Dutch School alone. The majority of fortifications that can be identified archaeologically appear to have been based on the Dutch School, but many show elements of several, all or no Schools. No significant difference between Royalist or Parliamentary fortifications can be seen either in the different national schools of fortification or in O’Neil’s typology. In many ways, this is not surprising. Despite their differences, the two sides were from very similar cultural traditions; given the evidence for divisions within families, within town councils and

social groups, changing of sides and the influence of mercenaries and professional soldiers who had fought on either side during the Thirty Years War, searching for cultural differences between Cavalier and Roundhead in military architecture seems to be misguided.

This tension between theory and practice is central to understanding the development of the physical form of these fortifications. England's relative immunity from the European land wars of the late-16<sup>th</sup> and early-17<sup>th</sup> centuries meant that few of the new style of bastioned fortifications had been built in England before the outbreak of the Wars, despite an active contemporary debate on planning, laying out and building fortifications, and indeed, the familiarity of the soldiers returning to England (and indeed Scotland and Ireland) with these fortifications.

#### ***4.1.4 Contemporary Usage***

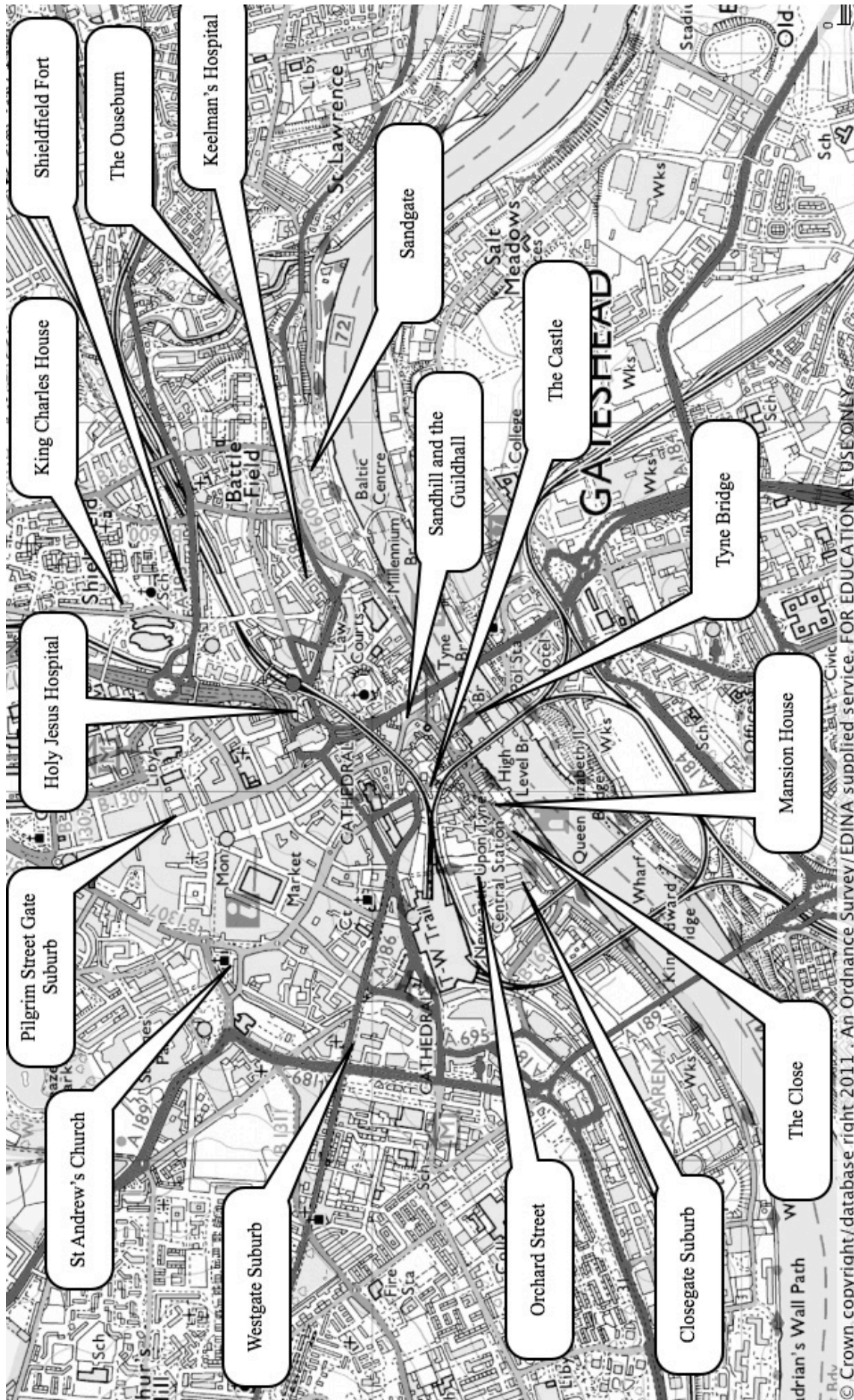
It is clear from even a cursory reading of contemporary textbooks and other documentary sources that the concept of fortification in the 17<sup>th</sup> century needs further exploration. 'Fortification' could, but did not necessarily refer to the construction, or even existence, of physical defences. In the Royalist Ordnance Papers collected and edited by Ian Roy (Roy 1964; 1975), the word 'fortifie' is used only once, in a context that suggests that 'reinforce' could be a more appropriate modern equivalent (Roy 1975, 115). The Journals of the House of Commons (HCJ) have more uses of the term, but few that refer unambiguously to physical works alone, an exception being the appointment of Joseph Mansell as surveyor of the fortifications of Portsmouth in April 1642 (HCJ vol. 2, 533-5). Harbottle Grimston was sent to Harwich, to inspect the 'workes' (HCJ vol. 3, 155-7). 'Fortification' as discussed by Papillon (1645) could include the construction of new defences, or the enhancement of existing walls, but a

town could also be ‘fortified’ by the stationing of a garrison, the provision of new muskets and powder for the trained band or the delivery and emplacement of cannon in existing defences, as at Newcastle in 1638 (Welford 1887, 232) even where no new defences were provided.

Saffron Walden in Essex seems not to have been fortified in the modern sense, but like Chichester, which relied on its existing medieval walls (Magilton 1993), could be placed into a ‘good posture of defence’ (HCJ vol. 2 837-9). While I am happy to use the term fortification in the modern sense, it must be remembered that when a modern writer states that a town was fortified, it is not always clear that the term conveys the same meaning as it could in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. What modern readers take as fortification was more often described in physical terms as the making of ‘works’ (HCJ vol. 3, 158-60). At London, Parliament had the power:

*...to trench and stop all such High-Ways and By-ways leading into the said city... fortify and entrench the places aforesaid with such Out-works, and in such places, as they shall think meet...*  
(HCJ vol. 2, 991-3).

Figure 4.5 Map of Newcastle, showing the location of sites noted in the text



## **4.2 The Refortification of Newcastle**

### ***4.2.1 Newcastle in Context***

Newcastle upon Tyne has been chosen as a case study, for several reasons. Firstly because of its size and strategic significance, but also because it was defended during the Wars, and in creating and maintaining the defences of the town, the various military and civil authorities who controlled the town negotiated many of the issues that were faced in other towns at the same time. These issues included the need to maintain a credible military defence, the decision whether to reuse and modernise existing defensive walls, or whether to expand or contract the circuit to take into account the changed size and layout of the town in the centuries since those walls were conceived. The town also faced crises of identity and allegiance, both within the town and in relation to outsiders. These experiences make studying the town defences an ideal starting point in exploring the wider issues facing urban communities across the country.

### ***4.2.2 Newcastle at the Outbreak of the War***

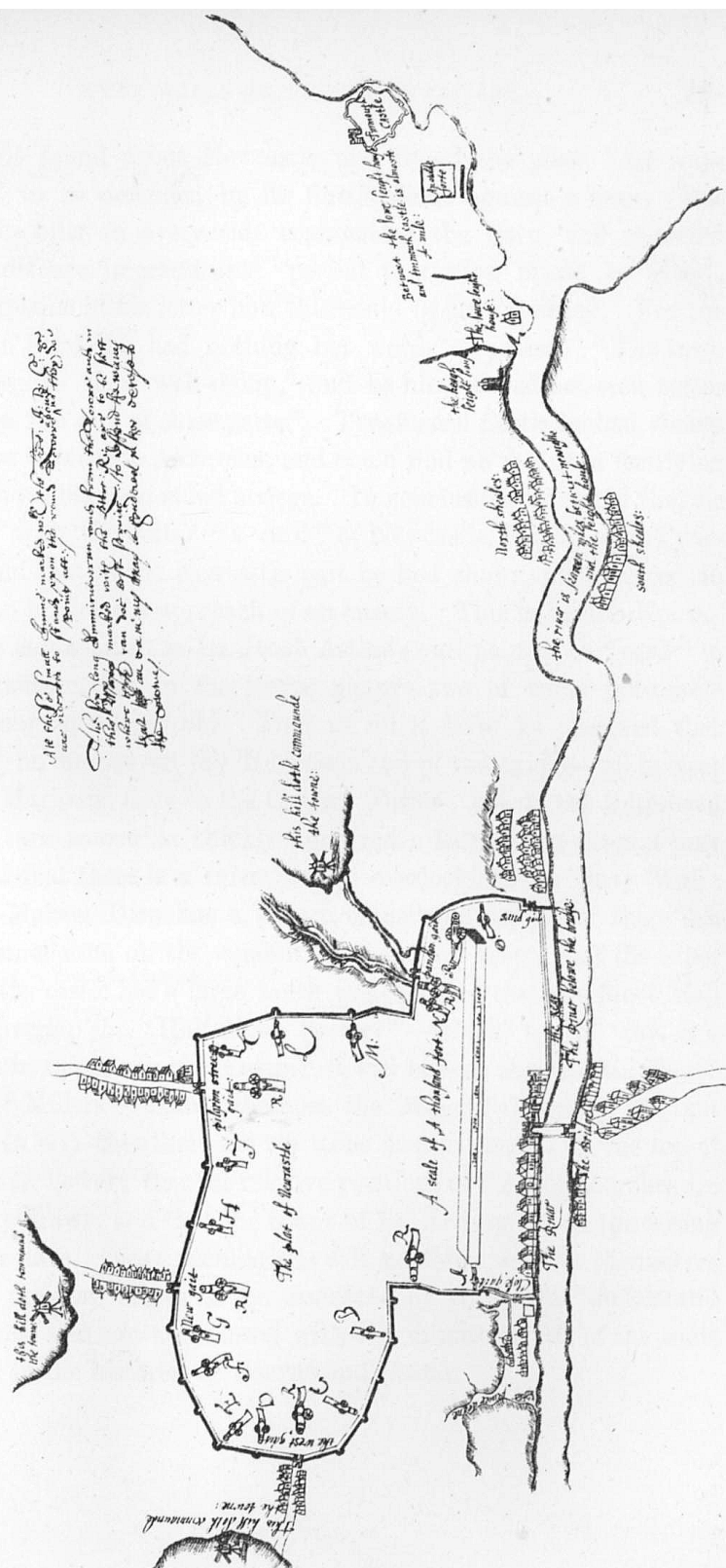
When Newcastle was surveyed in the preparations for the First Bishops War of 1638-9, the medieval town walls formed the basis of its defences. A detailed survey of the state of the defences was made by Sir Jacob Astley, Colonel William Legge and Sir Thomas Morton, sent by Charles to supervise the preparations for the war (Welford 1887). Few if any new defences seem to have been planned or built. The Common Council's report back to Charles I in January 1639 of the advice that Astley had provided was transcribed by Welford (1887, 231-4) and published with a further letter from Astley (NA SP16/409) and two plans of the town, one showing the walls in detail (NA MPF 1/333), the other showing the wider situation of the town (NA MPF 1/287). Astley's advice to

the Common Council, which had been entrusted with the ‘*safety* [my italics] of this Towne’, centred on the supply of arms and ammunition to the trained band.

Astley planned minor alterations to the town defences; a drawbridge was to be made on the Tyne Bridge and cannon were to be placed at strategic points on the town wall, which suggests that it was then in good condition. However, it is not certain that any work was carried out at this time. The suburbs outside Closegate, Newgate, Pilgrim Street Gate and Sandgate were neither enclosed nor cleared; they are not even shown on the plan of the town’s walls (NA MPF 1/333), though they are shown on the wider plan (NA MPF 1/287).

Astley had little confidence in the town defences, writing that a successful defence of the town was ‘no ways possible’ (NA SP 16/409). The Common Council appear to have followed his lead:

*“We humbly pray their Lordships there may be Armes and ammunition... the Towne being only to be made good by strength of men, all other fortificacions being in vain, the Towne is so commanded by the hills adiacent...”* (Welford 1887, 233)



SKETCH N<sup>o</sup> 2.

**Figure 4.6 Map of Newcastle 1639 (Welford 1887, 232). The original of this map is now in the National Archives (MPF 1/287)**

The attached map (NA MPF 1/287) explained this thinking more closely. Newcastle's situation as a riverine port meant that the town was overlooked to the West from Westgate Hill, from the North from the Castle Leazes and the East from Shieldfield Green, each shown with the legend 'this hill doth commaunde the towne' (NA MPF 1/287). Though not shown on the map, Gateshead Fell provided a further vantage point within cannon range of the town walls (Lithgow 1644, 9). These minimal defensive improvements were never tested; the town capitulated to the Scots in 1640 after Conway's army fled following the Battle of Newburn Ford.

#### **4.2.3 Refortification**

By the time of the siege in 1644, substantial additions had been made to the fortifications by John Marley, Mayor of Newcastle. This refortification comprised repairs and enhancements to the walls. Lithgow described the medieval walls in detail, placing them at the centre of the defence:

*The walles about the town are both high and strong... fenced with dungeon towres, interlarded also with turrets, and... a large and defensive battlement... the which walls, the defendants within, had marveillously fortified, rampiering them about... with interlynings and mountaynes of earth. The streets... were also casten up with defensive breastworks, and mounted with demi-culverines of irone... the very capstones of the battlements round about the towne, were suroged and underpropt with little stones; that... they might be toppled over upon the assailants... all the gapes of the battlements were shut up with lime and stone, having a narrow slit in each of them, through which they might murther our souldiers... The graffe... was digged deeper, and the exteriour root of the walls were steeply lyned with clay-mixed earth... All the Ports about were closed with lyme and stone, and strongly barrocaded within, leaving no passage save of little posterne doors... (Lithgow 1644, 13-14).*

Lithgow's account of the siege of Newcastle may be confused in places and partial in the extreme, but extensive archaeological surveys of the town walls and the Castle



support many elements of his description; the deepening of the ditch, the filling of towers with soil and the construction of bastions at the towers (Nolan 1993, 136-8). They also suggest further measures, such as piling soil inside the walls (Nolan 1993, 96-7), and contradict other elements of Lithgow's description, such as the piling up of soil against the outer foot of the wall. In other places, there was insufficient evidence to make detailed comparisons; for example, too little of any pre-17<sup>th</sup>-century fabric above the ramparts survived at the time of the survey to allow detailed comment on the form of the battlements (Nolan 1993, 103-4).

#### ***4.2.4 Other Town Defences***

The renovation of Newcastle's fortifications is directly comparable with other medieval walls refurbished during the English Civil War. At Chester, documentary descriptions of earth mounded up behind the Roman walls were confirmed by archaeological excavation at Abbey Green (Ward 1987, 17). Lithgow (1644, 14) suggested that soil was mounded in front of the wall to prevent the use of scaling ladders, but this has yet to be demonstrated, and Papillon (1645, 12) argued that soil placed in front of the curtain to deaden the impact of cannon fire could easily be dislodged into a town ditch. At Gloucester, material from the clearance of the suburbs was used to back the walls (Atkin 1991, 33); Newcastle's 'Town Dunge-Hill' was plundered for material (Nolan 1990, 88). As at Newcastle (Nolan 1993, 96), Gloucester's gate and mural towers were filled with earth (Atkin 1991, 33), reinforcing them against cannon fire, and the recoil of cannon mounted on them. The soil backing Gloucester's wall was removed after the siege to fill in the ditches and for make-up around the walls (Atkin and Howes 1993, 24), possibly explaining why the soil backing to Newcastle's town wall has not yet been identified archaeologically (Nolan 1993, 96-7).

The narrowing of the battlements described by Lithgow is paralleled by the musketry loops in the Newarke wall at Leicester (Courtney and Courtney 1992, 62-8); similar musketry loops in Exeter's town wall were cut above the level of the soil backing (Harrington 2004, 16).

The ditch at Gloucester South Gate (Atkin and Howes 1993, 26) was 9m (27') wide by 3.5m (11') deep, similar to that at Newcastle, where the ditch appears to have been slightly wider but around the same depth (Nolan *et al.* 1989), and Leicester, where a 10m-wide ditch has been reported (Harrington 2004, 27). Medieval town ditches that were recut were generally more substantial than those built as part of new defences; the new ditch at Whitechapel was 5.5m wide by 1.4m deep (Flintham 1998, 233), typical for newly-built works compared with widths of 3-5.5m and depths of 1.5-2.3m in Exeter, Gloucester, Taunton and Northampton (Flintham 1998, 233; Ward 1987, 30-3, Chapman 1999, 39), but very large compared to the outer ditch at Green Street, Northampton (1m deep and 1.5m wide: Chapman 1998, 39). Spoil upcast from these ditches was probably an important source of soil for other fortifications, though it is difficult to assess the quantities involved.

The Dutch school is thought to have favoured wet ditches, and this appears to have been the case in the Low Countries, though there is very little evidence for this in England. At Newark, there was no evidence of waterlogging and the sides of gravel-cut ditches remained well-defined (Drage 1987, 129). The presence of a *cheval-de-frise* at the base of the ditch at Gloucester South Gate suggests that this ditch was intended to be dry. The Shieldfield fort at Newcastle was surrounded by a ditch that was dry except for the drainage from the garrison's latrine (Lithgow 1645, 18). Soil and drainage conditions were important considerations; at Nottingham, the rivers Lene and Bek may have been

used to feed the defensive ditches, but this also increased the size of the enceinte (Butler 1949, 29).

There is very little evidence for the form of the bastions and bulwarks added to Newcastle's town wall, but these appear to have been reinforced platforms for artillery such as Carr's Battery (North 1983, Nolan 1994) as well as protruding bastions such as that at Croft Street (Nolan 1993, 138) which allowed artillery to flank the existing walls. One of these platforms obstructed the reconstruction of a property:

*Edward Green reported... that a battlement to place ordinance upon is built upon an old wall of Ralph Colterd. He thought it fit that the battlement should be taken away and the rubbish and that he build his wall against it (TWAS 589/4 f.86; 1646).*

The Croft Street bastion had rubble-cored walls with masonry facing over a timber corduroy (Nolan 1993, 138), though it was smaller than those observed at Gloucester (Atkin 1991, 32). Identifying these features can be difficult, however, even when they are shown on maps; at Newark, a ditch interpreted as part of the Mill Gate hornwork (Drage 1987, 130) proved impossible to reconcile with the beamslots interpreted as lacing for the earthwork bank within the ditch (RCHM 1964, 70).

The earliest efforts to strengthen a town's defences often involved measures that could be made quickly and cheaply. Trained bands were taken in hand and powder and ammunition supplied; turnpikes and chains were stretched across roads and gateways (Atkin 1991, 34). These seem to have been aimed at preventing the sort of small-scale cavalry raids on towns that could still result in death, destruction and plundering, even if not of the order of that experienced during a full-scale siege. These were also steps that could be used to demonstrate that measures for the defence of a town were being taken in hand as much as to fulfil any actual military purpose.

These measures could be taken within the usual remit of local urban government.

Extensive fortification had previously required Royal approval, and while fortification of some towns commenced before the war officially started, these were generally Parliamentary strongholds. At Dorchester, fortification was begun by the Common Council on 20<sup>th</sup> July 1642 (Dorsetshire Natural History and Archaeological Society 1982, 92) and Hotham had been required to spend no more than £300 fortifying Hull in the previous month (HCJ vol. 2, 635-6). Other towns were fortified once the war had begun. Oxford's earliest English Civil War defences were built after 11<sup>th</sup> August 1642 (Lattey *et al.* 1936, 6), Northampton, Gloucester, and Bristol were first fortified during August 1642 (Foard 1995a, 4, Atkin 1991, 35, Russell 1995, 7).

More widespread fortification began in the winter of 1642. The majority of Parliamentary grants and rebates of subscription monies for fortification were made in winter 1642-3: of 22 grants for fortification in 1642, 15 were made in November and December, and half of the eight grants in 1643 had been made by May (HCJ vol. 2). At Dorchester, construction had been sporadic up to May 1643, but accelerated with the Royalist advance on Bristol in June, paralleling the situation in Nottingham, where temporary defences were set up in late 1642, and earthwork defences commenced in April-May 1643 (Butler 1949, 2). Towcester and Grafton Regis were fortified by the Royalists in winter 1642-3 (Foard 1995a, 5), with work continuing through 1643 (Foard 1995a, 13-14). Chester's outworks were commenced around this time (Ward 1987, 5) and at Gloucester, the new bastioned lines were commenced in January 1643 by Colonel Massey (Atkin and Howes 1993, 17). At Leicester the lack of archaeological evidence of any fortification before September 1643 suggested an early 'uneasy neutrality' (Courtney and Courtney 1992, 52), but there are documentary references to a two-mile long circuit in existence before the first siege (Courtney and Courtney 1992,

81), supported by Papillon's (1645, 9-10) criticism of the excessive length of the newly-built circuit. It is not clear whether the substantial ditch excavated there (Harrington 2004, 27) was part of this phase of fortification, or a later one; assigning such features to specific documented episodes of fortification has proved to be very difficult (Atkin and Howes 1993)

Contemporary military logic appears to have been to protect a town in Newcastle's topographical situation with detached outworks. These could be placed on high ground around the town and were used as artillery strongpoints which could keep enemy artillery out of range of the town. In that they were exposed to an attacker's artillery, they were necessarily some of the most substantial fortifications that were constructed at this time. The classic examples of these works are the King's and Queen's Sconces at Newark, which were built as square sconces of the Dutch School (RCHM 1964, 32). The Queen's Sconce survives and is just over 1.2ha in area, measuring 156m across the diagonals at the counterscarp banks to each bastion (RCHM 1964, 32). These outworks were common elsewhere, and at Bristol and Plymouth, the detached outworks became the basis of new continuous circuits (Russell 1995, Stoye 1998). A very similar work was built just outside Newcastle at Shieldfield Green:

*...there was a fortresse evolved, called Sheffield Fort... It stood squarely quadrangled, with a foure-cornered bastion at every angle, and all of them thus quadrat, they are composed of earth and wattles... At the entry whereof, there is a wooden drawbridge, and within it two courts du guard, the graffe without is dry and of small importance... (Lithgow 1644, 14).*

Other evidence for this work is scant. One bastion survived into the mid-19th century and can be seen on Oliver's map of Newcastle upon Tyne (1840). Assuming a similar design to the Newark sconces, Oliver's depiction of this work suggests that it would

have been around 60m square. While the date of the construction of this work is not known, it is not shown on Astley's map, but it was ready when the Scots first approached Newcastle in February 1644. Lithgow's confused description of Shieldfield in the first Scottish assault refers to two forts, one of which had recently been completed; given the presence of this second outwork at Shieldfield (Lithgow 1645, 5), it seems peculiar that further attempts were not made to right the defensive frailties of the town in other areas identified by Astley.

#### **4.2.5 Authority**

Once a decision had been taken to build new or to restore existing defences, the question of how to fund these activities came to the fore. In many towns, as at Newcastle after 1642, the Common Council took on the responsibility of organising the funding and construction of the walls. Marley's refortification seems to have been an entirely local operation, and the core of the defensive force in 1644 was formed by the town's Trained Band. This local involvement was kept up throughout the English Civil Wars. Newcastle's population supplied labour for rebuilding the defences. In Scottish-occupied Newcastle after 1644, the polite fiction that the Common Council was responsible for maintaining the fortifications was upheld. The Common Council issued a proclamation:

*Thomas Wouldhave appointed overseer of the worke. Any who refused to come to pay 8d per day. Everyone to come at six in the morning. A drum to call them and go with them to work. To bring shovels etc to work with. Moved that the town undertake the work of the Shieldfield fort as a testimony of their love and respect for Parliament for funds vouchsafed to the corporation. Ordered that all the earth and sod work to be done by the burgesses at their cost... (TWAS 589/4 f. 253).*

### **4.3 Urban Fortifications and the Community**

#### **4.3.1 Funding the Defences**

The Mayor and Common Council of Plymouth ‘ordained and agreed... that there shalbe a wall with all expedition erected and leng[then]ed for the better defence and safetie of this towne...’ (Stoyle 1998, 14 citing Plymouth Black Book, 1<sup>st</sup> July, 1643). This pattern of local action and, notwithstanding the payment of Parliamentary grants, funding appears to have been the norm. Nottingham’s outer circuit was built and maintained by the Common Council (Butler 1949, 28), and the Parliamentary garrison under Hutchinson retreated to the Castle when the town was threatened, showing a clear split between political and military authority. The earliest English Civil War lines in Oxford were at least partly built by the University (Lattey *et al.* 1936, 6). Later references by Wood suggest that proclamations were used to enforce the townspeople and university to provide labour; that workmen from neighbouring counties were brought in and that prisoners of war were employed by the Royal authorities (Lattey *et al.* 1936, 8).

The cost of fortification was met through a variety of means, and this, combined with the patchy survival of records makes estimating the true cost of fortification very difficult. At Newcastle, the relevant accounts and Common Council records no longer survive, making understanding of Mayor Marley’s role unclear. However, his documented initiative in clearing the town dunghill shows that he, and presumably the Common Council with him, played a central role in planning the fortifications.

Alderman Leonard Carr appears to have funded and had built the battery that bore his name (Norman 1983), a practice attested at Bristol and Nottingham (Russell 1995, 25, Butler 1949, 31). Bristol’s Common Council ‘freely offered to see the mount and redoubt by Alderman Jones’ house forthwith furnished; and it is promised that he shall

not be a loser, and his disbursements on account shall be satisfied.' The account was paid in full on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1644 (Russell 1995, 25).

From 1642 Parliament remitted part of the subscription monies assessed on individual towns to release funds for fortification, though these were often for comparatively small amounts, ranging from 100 marks given to Lyme in December 1642 (HCJ vol. 2 877-9) to the £200 per month granted to Aylesbury in March 1643 (HCJ vol. 3 23-5). The £200 granted to Canterbury and Harwich in December 1642 (HCJ vol. 2 889-91) are typical of the remissions of this period of the war, though later grants appear to have been made for specific purposes and could be much greater, like the £5000 granted for the refortification of York in October 1646 (HCJ vol. 4, 681-3). A similar policy operated locally scale at Northampton, where taxes and income from estates could be set aside for specific purposes; taxes here were raised through the existing parish structure by the Constables (Foard 1995a, 22). Urban defences in areas controlled by Parliament could be at least part-funded through the County Committee and a very similar system of local taxation was used by Prince Rupert (Foard 1995a, 6).

Where detailed accounts exist, very precise costs of fortification have been calculated. Foard attempted to estimate the cost of the defences of Northampton by multiplying the length of the circuit by the unit cost of the fortifications cited in the borough accounts, giving estimates of £2000-6500 for the renewed circuit (Foard 1995a, 10-11). At Gloucester, by comparison, where the military accounts record a total expenditure on military activities including fortification as well as troops' pay, weapons, gunpowder and supplies of £20,542 5s 3d (Atkin and Howe 1993, 18). The total cost of fortifying Dorchester has been calculated at £19, 067 18s 5d, providing several bulwarks and forts, a fort and gun platform at the South Gate; a gun platform at the West Gate, and



further unspecified works at the North Gate, at the Priory and Maumbury rings (Dorsetshire Natural History and Archaeological Society 1982, 92) and the cost of fortifying Oxford has been estimated at £30,000 (RCHM 1964, 30), though it is not clear whether these figures included other military expenses. As a comparison, the cost of building the monumental stone fortifications at Berwick upon Tweed nearly 80 years earlier, on a scale that was not matched by any English Civil War fortifications, ranges from around £33,000 (O'Neil 1960, 69-70).

#### ***4.3.2 Enclosure***

There appears to have been little consistency nationwide in the decisions made over what areas should be enclosed. Most medieval towns had suburbs; settlements immediately outside the walls. The legal status of these suburbs varied and was rarely well-defined, but they could still form part of the town, often forming part of an urban parish. Some towns followed the examples of London, Chester and Bristol, where completely new circuits enclosed almost all significant features and developments outside the medieval walls. Elsewhere, as at Northampton, suburbs that had existed in the medieval period no longer existed, and the town had contracted within the medieval walls (Foard 1995a, 6).

By contrast, many towns were never fully enclosed. Newcastle, along with many other towns, like Exeter, had outgrown their medieval walls and developed extensive suburbs. At Colchester, the Roman walls formed the basis of what seems to have been a makeshift, though effective, defence. Here, the suburbs contained the houses of wealthy and important locals, such as Harbottle Grimston's house at Crouched Friars, Barrington's house at Old Heath and the Lucas family house at St John's Abbey. Newcastle had substantial suburbs at Closegate to the West, Newgate and Pilgrim Street

Gate to the North and Sandgate to the East. These suburbs are clearly shown on the wider plan of Newcastle drawn up for Astley (NA MPF 1/287) and on Speed's map. Many sites within these suburbs were of importance, including industrial features. While the majority of Newcastle's coal wealth came from the Grand Lease in Durham (Howell 1967), several smaller pits were within sight of the town walls, as were Mansell's monopoly glass houses at St Lawrence. While the quayside was safe within the walls, the eight-mile approach to the town up the Tyne was protected only at its entrance by forts at Tynemouth and South Shields. North Shields, the subsidiary port of Newcastle was defended only by the 'Spanish Battery'.

Meadows could be protected by detached outworks, with grazing land being an important asset to the besieged at Carlisle (Ferguson 1891, 111-3) and Newark (RCHM 1964, 33), while the Little Meadow at Gloucester seems to have been primarily used as a source of turf for the earthen defensive banks (Atkin and Howe 1993, 27).

Colchester's defenders were forced to graze their horses outside the town walls, putting them at risk of being shot or driven away (Thomason/E.460 [37])

Considering the link between enclosure, landholding and fortification, it is perhaps surprising that the areas protected by urban fortifications did not necessarily correspond to pre-existing parish and ward boundaries. At Newcastle, the parish layout was unusual, with the largest, St Nicholas, extending into the hinterland beyond the town walls, but many of the urban parishes of Colchester (St Mary-at-the-Walls, St Giles, St Botolph, St James and St Martin) encompassed areas within and without the walls, as did St Sidwell's at Exeter. In all these cases, the principal parish church was within the older walls, following the layout set by the pre-existing Roman or Medieval walls.

Civic amenities in the modern sense were also few and far between, but the infrastructure required to support a town was present. Water supplies were often located outside the town walls and were amongst the first targets of besieging forces at Plymouth (Stoyle 1998, 9). At Carlisle, as at Colchester, the water supply was important not just for drinking and sanitation, but also for powering the watermills that provided the town with flour (Ferguson 1891, 113). The destruction of Middle Mill and North Mill, and the loss of East Mill at the Hythe, forced the defenders to construct handmills to provide flour for bread (Carter 1650, 129).

In general, occupants of the centres of medieval towns were better protected by fortifications, whereas suburbs were less frequently protected. The principal exceptions to this rule were at Newcastle, where the quayside houses of the wealthiest residents of the town, whilst within the walls, were particularly vulnerable to the fire of the Scottish batteries in Gateshead. The Common Council minutes refer to the ruinous condition of the Close (TWAS 589/4 f.221) and Trinity House (McCombie 1985, 169), on the East Quayside after the war. Booth claimed that the leading citizens of Leicester had fortified themselves into the Newarke, effectively creating a citadel and destabilising their relationship with the townspeople, though the militia committee and Common Council denied this, saying that they had fortified the town. Until recently, the only specific evidence of 17<sup>th</sup>-century fortification in Leicester was the Newarke (Courtney and Courtney 1992, 52-53).

Many English towns had grown up around ports, and these were usually included within defensive circuits. In some cases, such as Hull and Plymouth, it was the maritime location of the town that provided its strength, allowing for resupply. The strategic importance of these towns meant that they had been fortified preceding the century

before the Wars. At Newcastle, however, the town's low-lying situation was the principal cause of Astley's dismissive description of its security. Moreover, the approach by the River Tyne was so easily commanded that no attempt was made to defend it beyond guarding the entrance at Tynemouth. Colchester also had problems with the situation of its port, fully a mile away from the town, which had grown up within the walls of the former Roman town. The Hythe was the closest navigable approach of the River Colne; it was briefly held by the Royalists during the siege as a possible source of reinforcement and resupply, but left their army divided into two parts.

The locations of urban defences were not necessarily static. The earliest defences of Plymouth were modifications and extensions of the medieval walls, but while these defences were rebuilt and strengthened during the war, the completed scheme joined the outworks to cut off the peninsular containing the whole town along with its suburbs and some open land (Stoyle 1998, 21). Oxford's defences went through several phases of alteration (Lattey *et al.* 1936). Oxford and Plymouth are the clearest examples of towns whose defences were gradually extended with coherent military schemes in mind, though Newark (RCHM 1964, 29-30), and Gloucester (Atkin 1991) probably fall into this category. There are few examples of these circuits contracting. At Bristol, Rupert used the same defensive circuit as Fiennes had before, despite its known weaknesses (Russell 1995). The remodelling of Liverpool's defences planned by de Gomme would have reduced the length of the circuit slightly, though it is not clear that it was ever carried out (Ross 1887). Only at Chester is there clear evidence for extensive contraction of the defences (Ward 1987, 9-10: figs 1-2). Here, various awkward salients, including one thought to have been included as contingency to provide for an encampment for troops from Ireland, were gradually removed from the line. The

lengthy circuit of almost 6 miles was reduced and rationalised later, falling to almost half that length, apparently under the influence of de Gomme (Ward 1987, 8-11).



**Figure 4.7** The fortifications of Oxford in 1643 - this map is shown upside down so that it is in the same alignment as figure 4.8 and 6.4 (Bodleian Library Wood 276 b.fol. xxx)



**Figure 4.8 The fortifications of Oxford as planned in 1643 - the Parliamentary siegeworks are visible to the east of the town (Bodleian Library MS. Top. Oxon b. 167)**

Significantly, there are no English towns where it can be shown that the 17<sup>th</sup>-century defences were built on a circuit that had been reduced from that enclosed by any earlier walls. At the minimum, the medieval or Roman circuits were refurbished. Even where the 17<sup>th</sup>-century town had contracted and the circuit was recognised as being overlong, as at Northampton, the defences were not drawn in. This suggestion was proposed by Papillon, but evidently rejected (Foard 1995a, 12). While the expedience of the reuse of former walls was undoubtedly an important consideration, the perceptual importance of the earlier town walls remained a prime concern for the civic elites.

#### ***4.3.3 Man and Woman Power***

Labourers could be hired, as they were at Gloucester (Atkin and Howes 1992, 37) and Northampton, where detailed accounts of payments to masons, wage labourers, and countrymen survive (Foard 1995a, 9), but not all the defences built during the Wars were paid for with money. In many towns, townspeople willingly, or otherwise, offered

their labour. In Gloucester during spring 1643 ‘all suspended private cares, and the women and children acted their parts in making up the defects of the fortifications. (Atkin and Howes 1992, 24), though the Quarter sessions of the same town eight years later recorded that:

*...all burgesses and inhabitants... are to muster by themselves, servants or workmen tomorrow morning by six o’clock, with spades, shovels and mattocks and little baskets at the south gate, to work on all the fortifications all that day upon pain of 5s a piece* (Atkin 1991, 36).

The impressments of townspeople to work on the fortifications seems to have been relatively frequent, and almost exactly the same wording is found in an order of the Common Council of Newcastle, requiring the townspeople to work on the fort at Shieldfield on pain of a fine of 8d per day (TWAS 589/4, f. 253). However, Gloucester’s Chamberlains accounts do record the subsequent distribution of £7 to the fourteen companies of the city ‘for their extraordinary labour in the fortifications of this garrison for two daies and two nights past’ (Atkin 1991, 36).

A common feature of accounts of the construction of fortifications is the involvement of women. At the first siege of Leicester, the women of the town are recorded as having worked under fire:

*we had begun a substantial breastwork... the women of the town wrought at it, although the cannon bullets and some splinters of stone fell amongst them...* (Courtney and Courtney 1992, 56).

This involvement of women was not restricted to towns controlled by Parliament and is also recorded at Chester. The women of London were applauded by Lithgow, but lampooned by Butler:



*Who...*

*March'd rank and file, with Drum and Ensign,*

*T' entrench the City, for defence, in;*

*Rais'd Rampiers with their own soft hands,*

*To put the Enemy to stands;*

*From Ladies down to Oyster-Wenches,*

*Labour'd like Pioneers in Trenches,*

*Fell to their Pick-Axes and Tools,*

*And help'd the men to dig like Moles? (Butler 1684).*

The Royalist jibe that the employment of London's women on the works away from their husbands gave new opportunities for adulterous relationships was unsurprising, although it is not clear exactly how remarkable women's involvement in this type of work was; female wage labourers were common, but it was the involvement of comparatively wealthy women that was noted. The involvement of women in the construction of siegeworks (and indeed other military works) has also become a trope of modern reconstruction visualisations of English Civil War sieges (See Ward 1987, cover image Harrington 2003, *passim* and Figure 5.10 below).

#### **4.4 Interpretations and Typologies**

##### ***4.4.1 Professional and Amateur***

O'Neil classed urban fortifications into three forms; bastions added to a medieval circuit; continuous bastioned enceintes and forts connected by a bank and ditch. O'Neil linked this typology to historical interpretations of the Wars, creating a hypothetical divide between the 'professional' military engineers employed by the Royalists, building continuous enceintes in the Dutch style, and the determined, though



inexperienced Parliamentarians who built extensive fort and ditch systems. This view has come to form an implicit consensus epitomised by the comparison of London and Oxford (Sturdy 1975). Harrington (2003) followed this argument, but suggested that these differences narrowed during the course of the English Civil War:

*Whereas London and Bristol, which were first defended by Parliament, had enceintes which consisted of isolated forts joined by a bank and ditch, Newark, Reading, Carmarthen and the proposals for Oxford and Liverpool, all Royalist works, had a continuous enceinte, as does the remaining part of the later, Royalist, defence of Bristol. Wherever the style can be gauged, it was the Dutch. This suggests that at first the Royalists were more advanced in technique than their adversaries. With such a suggestion both their initial resources in skilled manpower and their initial successes are in complete agreement (O’Neil 1960, 111).*

London’s ‘Lines of Communication’ consisted of 24 forts joined by an immense eighteen kilometres of continuous ditch. These were by far the largest, if not the most effective fortifications built during the English Civil War, enclosing the cities of London and Westminster and their suburbs. Sturdy (1975, 334-6) explicitly compared Oxford and London in terms of purpose of defences, ‘professionalism’ and solidity. London’s Lines were never approached by the Royalists, and the New Model Army marched almost unopposed through them in 1647. The link to the citizens was clear; the London trained band could refuse to fight outside the capital (Sturdy 1975, 336), and the Lines were partly built by the inhabitants of London, a development recorded with approval, not to mention picturesque exaggeration, by William Lithgow (1642), and scathingly by Butler (1684).

Sturdy's (1975) interpretation of the Lines of Communication relies on later maps. Interpretations of Oxford's fortifications have focused on the geometrical plans or proposals by Rallingson and De Gomme (Lattey *et al.* 1936). In both cases, archaeological work over the past half-century, particularly since the rescue archaeology boom of the 1970s and 1980s has shown the basic accuracy of these plans, suggesting that Oxford was fortified, on a short but substantial and carefully planned circuit (Durham *et al.* 1983, Sturdy 1975). The presence of 'professional' soldiers and engineers, and the use of impressments of scholars and townsmen alike (Lattey *et al.* 1936, 6-8) compared to Lithgow's idealised depiction of the Companies of London coming to build the lines adds to this interpretive split. This view of ruthless professionals and dogged amateurs has coloured much of the debate; interpretations of Gloucester (Atkin and Loughlin 1992, Atkin and Howe 1993) and Bristol (Russell 1995) show the continuing influence of this interpretive divide. However, given the wording of Newcastle Common Council's order for the reconstruction of the fort at Shieldfield, '...as a testimony of their love and respect for Parliament...' (TWAS 589/4 f. 253), it is difficult to place much reliance on sources describing the willingness of townspeople to work on the defences.

These links between typology and political and religious affiliation are fundamentally flawed. In the case of the towns where new defences were built, no real difference can be discerned in the types of fortification favoured by either side. Chester, which remained staunchly Royalist until its final surrender, was defended by extensive lines of bastioned forts joined by a ditch and bank line, closer in size and function to Parliamentary Bristol than to the 'professional' fortifications at Oxford (Ward 1987). Chester's lines included long salients, subsequently abandoned, enclosing outlying features such as Flookersbrook Hall (Ward 1987, 6). Bristol's long and cumbersome

lines formed the basis of the Royalist defences built and maintained by de Gomme and Prince Rupert, the archetypical ‘hard-headed’ professionals (Russell 1995). At the same time, the Parliamentary strongholds of Northampton and Gloucester both employed the services of various professional engineers, and the completed defences of Gloucester or Plymouth were no less complex than their Royalist counterparts (Atkin and Howe 1993; Foard 1995a, Stoye 1998). Plymouth, which O’Neil placed into his ‘forts joined by a line’ category on the basis of the completed outworks, was principally defended by a bastioned trace; the outer line was a later alteration developed over several years of almost continuous siege (Stoye 1998).

**Table 4.1 Typologies of fortification divided by allegiance**

	<b>Italian</b>	<b>Dutch</b>	<b>French</b>	<b>Unidentified</b>
King	1	3	0	6
Parliament	2	2	1	5

	<b>Bastions added to medieval wall</b>	<b>Bastioned enceinte</b>	<b>Forts joined by line</b>
King	3	6	1
Parliament	2	6	3

## **4.5 Expediency and Culture: Geometry, Enclosure and the Modern**

### ***4.5.1 The Absence of Pattern***

The urban fortifications built during the Civil War were of an enormous variety of types, construction and styles; generally, they were informed by the theoretical literature and the art of fortification as practiced in Continental Europe, but did not follow these precepts closely. Faced with this absence of pattern, it would be easy to argue that fortification was an expedient, an ad-hoc measure that can only be understood at a local level. Clearly local, tactical factors and the lack of time were important, but there were also deeper, cultural issues involved in the decisions over what was fortified and how.

English fortifications in this period rarely, if ever, matched the complexity and scale of those in the Low Countries and Central Europe, but these fortifications were still important, if short-lived features of the English urban landscape. Their effect on the urban landscape of Britain is in turn, central to understanding their significance. While decisions on whether, how and when to fortify were taken in a national context, the absence of a clear link between political and religious views and styles or methods of fortifications is evidence less of the expedient and ad-hoc nature of these fortifications and more of the diversity of reactions to the issues that faced communities across England.

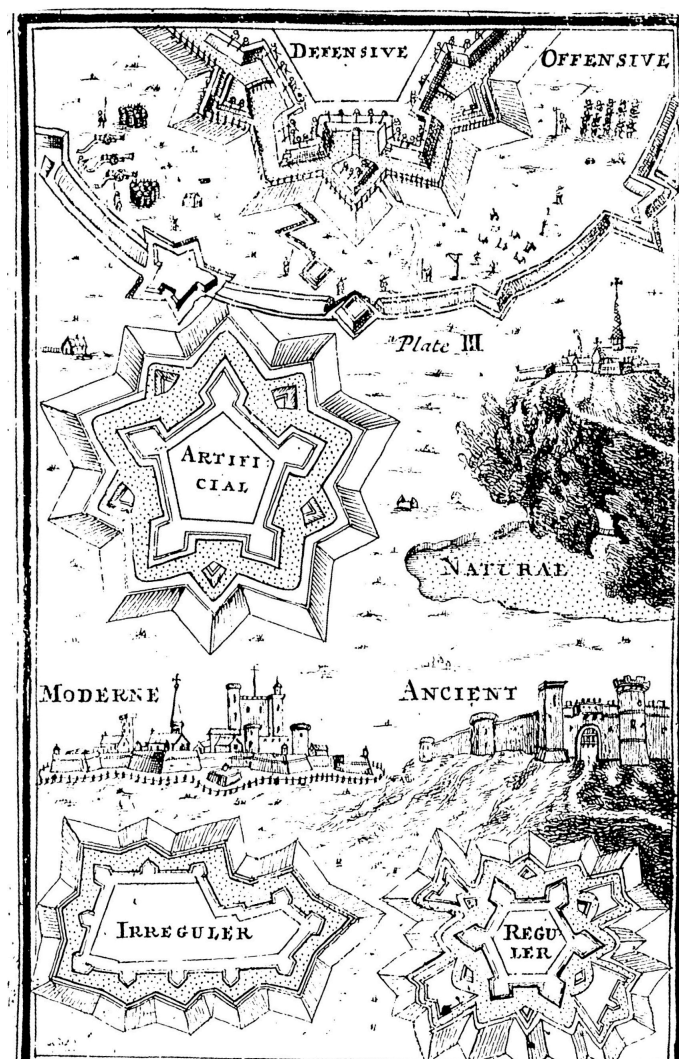


Figure 4.9 Conceptions of the modern, geometry and order in fortification (Stevens 1688)

An aspect that is often overlooked in discussion of Civil War defences that focus purely on technology, tactics and schools of military architecture is the conceptual and functional tension between military architectural theory and the reality of urban fortification. The apparently poor quality and layout of urban defences can be explained by expediency or lack of resources, but work at Gloucester (Atkin 1991), Plymouth (Stoyle 1998) Northampton (Foard 1995a) and even Leicester, until recently seen as an example of the poor quality of English urban fortification (Courtney and Courtney 1992, 52-3) has shown that these defences could vary radically in area, form and construction from earlier defences and could deviate from the most 'logical' line. The deviation of these fortifications from theoretical schemes does not arise from a lack of experience or resources (O'Neil 1960, 83). Rather, these should be seen as material manifestations of wider cultural discourse.

#### ***4.5.2 Enclosure and Power***

English urban fortification of the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century offers the opportunity not only to connect documentary historical and archaeological approaches, but is also the intersection of some of the most important themes in historical archaeology. The large scale enclosure of common land reached its peak during the late-17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries; the Cambridgeshire Fens were first enclosed and improved during the Commonwealth with the approval of Cromwell; ironically, his opposition to the drainage of the Fens had been one of major influences on his early political career (Barclay 2011). British colonial and imperial expansion began in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. After early and variably successful ventures in the Caribbean, Ulster and Virginia, the second half of the century saw the establishment of colonies and plantations and trading settlements in Jamaica, first colonised during the Commonwealth, Africa and India. Fortification was a fundamental part of these ventures, and as new forms of expressing power and

ownership were developing, the interest in symmetry, order, proportion and measurement can be traced in the technical literature on fortification. The fortifications of the English Revolution lie at the heart of this wider cultural revolution. The central issue is how far these parallels from the 17<sup>th</sup> century English countryside and the colonies can be applied to the very different context of 17<sup>th</sup>-century English urban life.

#### **4.5.3 Boundary**

The conception of town walls rested on differentiation and demarcation of two very different political and cultural entities; town and country. Boundary was a concept that was deep-rooted in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century English mindset. English landholdings had been described since around the seventh century as perambulations around a boundary (Fletcher 2003, Seed 1995, 18). The tradition of beating the bounds was central to civic ritual, being used to reassert boundaries and to settle disputes. In this sense, it should be no surprise that extant contemporary descriptions of mid-17<sup>th</sup> century fortifications, such as Lithgow's perambulation of London (Ross 1887, 80-88), or De Gomme's account of the defences of Bristol are given in this format (Russell 1995; Roy 1975). Even the lists of cannon taken after the siege of Bristol (Roy 1975, 261), or those mounted within the walls of Weymouth (Roy 1975, 296) and Dartmouth (Roy 1975, 303-4) are stated as perambulations around the walls:

##### *Ordinance in Weymouth*

##### *At the Entrance to the town*

*Demi Culverings \_ 9*

*Sakers \_ 2*

*Mynyon \_ 1*

##### *At the Beacon*

*Demi Culverings \_ 4*

*At the looking place*

*Demi Culverings \_ 3*

*At the chapel Greene*

*Demi Culverings \_ 2*

*At Benn-cliffe*

*Mynyons \_ 2*

*Att the Townes End*

*Falcons \_ 2*

*Ordinance in Melcombe*

*At the Townes end*

*Demi-Culverings \_ 4*

*Mynyons \_ 5 and 2 not mentioned*

*Ffalcon \_ 1*

*At the Balck Horse*

*Sakers \_ 4*

*Ffalcons \_ 2*

*In the strete*

*Ffalcons \_ 2* (Roy 1975, 296).

This importance of enclosure and perambulation to English conceptions of land ownership and possession means that the choices of what to enclose and what to lay claim to are particularly important; conversely, areas and aspects of urban life that were not protected are also important for understanding the types of decision that were made when whether and how to protect a town.

Studies of the boundaries themselves show up some important parallels:

*...this era saw property itself... recast as a bounded thing... The hedge both helped to concretise a new set of controversial*

*discourses around land and property rights, and aimed to prevent... physical movement... this spatial discipline was socially directive... it drew from and helped produce... social hierarchies that rested on developing conceptions of private property... As both a barrier and a sign, the hedge was a powerful machine of enclosure. However, its very materiality made it vulnerable... (Blomley 2007, 5).*

It is this paradoxical combination of vulnerability and power that is the closest analogy to town walls. The conception of town walls rested on differentiation and demarcation of two very different political and cultural entities; town and country, differences largely driven by the division between land holding and land ownership.

#### **4.5.5 Enclosure**

The obvious analogy to this enclosure of English towns was the contemporary process of enclosure of open fields and common lands. This analogy was noted at the time, even before the Wars. Lupton compared the enclosing landlord to a besieging general, his surveyors and bailiffs to the officers of an army:

*The Land-lords that inclose their Villages, are affraid that either the Town, or the Land would runne away, or rebell against them. Therefore they beleaguer it with deep Trenches and Thorn-roots for Pallizadoes: they could not make their Trenches so easily, if all were true within... In this businesse the Landlord he is as Lord-general... The Bayliffe is his Intelligencer... The Surveyor is his Quartermaster... The poore of the Parish and other places are his chiefe Pioneres... The Parish hee eyther winnes by Composition, or famishes by length of time, or batters downe by force of his lawlesse Engines: Most of the Inhabitants are miserably pillaged and vndone, he loues to see the bounds of his boundlesse desires; hee is like the Diuell, for they both compasse the earth about: (Lupton, 1632: 104–8)*

The enclosure of England's open fields and common lands has been one of the central themes of English historical archaeology, and has been argued to have been part of a wider culture of 'closure' that permeated English society in the century before and after the English Revolution (Johnson 1993, 1996). Seventeenth-century and earlier



enclosures were very different to those of later periods, using different legal mechanisms, and being carried out by different groups within society, and it is important not to oversimplify any understanding of enclosure. However, the significant factor is the conceptual change from land holding to land ownership, the final rejection of the remnants of previous conceptions of property.

#### ***4.5.6 Colonial Fortification***

It is impossible to discuss fortification and enclosure as the materiality of power and order without considering the emergence of colonialism and colonial fortification. English and Scottish colonialism is usually seen as having begun in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, with the foundation of colonies, or plantations in Munster and north-east America. The 17<sup>th</sup> century saw the expansion of these colonies and the foundation of new plantations. The fort at Jamestown, named after the new monarch, was founded in 1607, and the plantations in Ulster followed during the early part of the century. At the time of the Wars, the colony of Jamaica was founded in 1655 and Barbados found itself unwillingly drawn into the war (Beckles 2006).

These new plantations required political power to be explicitly marked by material culture, and whether these material remains of power relations were overlain on well established political and cultural landscapes as in Ulster, or set upon what was seen as virgin territory, as in the New World, important parallels can be drawn with the ways in which English urban and rural landscapes were being reshaped. The link between plantation, improvement and enclosure is fundamental, an importance reflected in contemporary use of these three terms. One of the first acts of the Munster plantation was to survey the land to allow it to be divided between the planters (Delle 1999, 20); accurate survey was essential for the delineation and allocation of plots. While the act of

enclosure, or even merely using the land was sufficient evidence of title under common law (Seed 1995, 33), the importance of survey was in permitting control over this process.

In the Irish plantations, the principal material form of fortification was the bawn, or fortified farmhouse, a form familiar from elsewhere in late-medieval Ireland (Blades 1986). These were built by the individual landlord who had been granted or had bought the rights to the plantation village, and usually took the form of a rectangular walled courtyard enclosing a stone-built house and outbuildings. The courtyard walls formed the defensive enceinte, and tended to have towers or bastions at two of the corners, to allow the walls to be defended by musketry (Blades 1986, 264). These defences were intended to protect against relatively short-lived and minor instability. During the 1641 rising, all had been taken within the first year of fighting, but the villages that grew up alongside them form the basis of much of Ulster's present rural settlement pattern.



**Figure 4.10 Bellaghy Bawn, County Londonderry. (Cormac Duffin, via Wikimedia Commons)**

By contrast, the principal towns of the plantation, Londonderry and Coleraine, were protected by a masonry circuit (Butlin 1977b, 88-9). Significantly, these towns were laid out for the companies of the City of London, and appear to have been built on a model of an idealised English town. The importance of civic rather than individual involvement in the construction of these towns and their fortifications was fundamental. It was common for later plantation towns to be laid out on a planned grid around a central square, with civic buildings such as Londonderry's market house, town hall and prison, which occupied the same building in the town square (Butlin 1977b, 87). Londonderry marked the last of the grand civic colonial ventures, later plantation being carried out by individual undertakers or more frequently by licensed companies such as the British East India Company or the Royal African Company, set up to exploit the expanding colonial territories.

Understanding of British fortification in the American plantations is largely conditioned by the fort at Jamestown. This fort was built on a triangular plan with a round bastion at each angle. This form was, even at the time of its construction, rather outmoded by European standards having formed the basis of many of the Henrician coastal forts built in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, at which time it had already begun to be superseded by the geometric works of the *trace italienne*. Nevertheless, this triangular plan form has been noted as being particularly favoured within the European colonies, principally for its ease of construction - the weakness of these works against artillery was less relevant in the Americas than where an opponent had access to modern heavy weaponry (Hodges 2003, 364).

What is more significant is the comparative absence of any real urban fortifications other than coastal defences within the American plantations; Hodges work describes

urban fortification, but these works are generally forts (frequently most analogous to bawns) attached to settlements rather than fortified settlements as such. Wolstenholme town was taken by Hodges (2003, 392) as an exemplar of the large number of Ulster ‘company towns’ that Noel-Hume (1982) had identified in St Martin’s Hundred, Virginia. While Hodges noted a number of particular differences in the use of space within these settlements, the general principle of a settlement protected by a fortified courtyard (or in Ulster, a ‘castle’ or bawn) remained (Hodges 2003, 540). Roque’s (1765) *A Set of Plans and Forts in America* shows some enclosed towns, but it is clear that these works relate to the Seven Years’ War in the north-east, rather than the 17<sup>th</sup>-century colonial settlement.

#### ***4.5.8 The Georgian World View, Closure and Order***

The various archaeological understandings of the Georgian World View, with its emphasis on geometry and symmetry, has generated an intense debate on attitudes to the natural world and the social order; its application has stretched far beyond the geographical confines of Deetz’ original research. Historical archaeologies of order and power, particularly in the Americas and South Africa have drawn on Foucault’s (1972) work on language and discourse and Deetz’s (1997) conception of the Georgian World View; Martin Hall’s (2000) exploration of 18<sup>th</sup>-century Capetown as a colonial centre shows how architecture and planning was used to define social and political relations. Visual elements of the urban landscape, such as the elaborate gables of the colonists’ houses were used to demonstrate their dominance and wealth, not only to the indigenous population, but also to their neighbours; the town plan itself, focused on the grand square and the Castle was symbolic of order and control in its controlled and precise geometric layout (Hall 2000, 24-6). In the Dutch urban tradition, citadels were frequently the centre of governmental authority, and the relationship between the town

and the Castle held a very specific significance that is familiar from European towns of the same date. More significantly, the use of this town plan and its subsequent development reinforced and reified these concepts through public spectacle such as funerals, through residential patterns within the town and through movement through the town (Hall 2000, 27-9). This concept of the equation of mastery of space and measurement with mastery over nature and over others, whether the display was overt, as in Bentham's Panopticon and the prisons it inspired (Foucault 1979), or used to create the impression of a natural dominance, 'masking' the messy reality of power, as in the William Paca Garden (Leone 1984) is a central theme of much of historical archaeology. In England, the growth of accurate surveying and cartography in the 17<sup>th</sup> century meant that a new cultural order of capital and ownership, expressed in new patterns of land holding and division could legitimise itself through a new means of expressing property ownership (Johnson 1996, 72-91). Tellingly, while the concept of enclosure, and even its equation with 'improvement' was not new (see Fitzherbert 1523), this equation only really gained widespread acceptance in public discourse from the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Seed 1995, 19; Tarlow 2007)

It is tempting to infer that a society with a deep concern for order and renewed interest in fortification found an expression of dominance in the design and construction of new, geometrical fortifications, and this has been argued convincingly, at least for 18<sup>th</sup>-century continental Europe (O'Keefe and Yamin 2006), with planned urban development going hand in hand with the peak of the design of urban artillery fortifications in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In England, at least, the reverse was true. The conservative revolution of the Restoration brought back no less of a focus on order and precedence than the pre-Wars monarchy, but the enclosing urban fortifications to express this order were never built. Instead, these new fortifications were forts and

citadels like those at Plymouth (Stoyle 1998, iii) and Hull (Foreman and Goodhand 1997), built on the same pattern as the colonial fortifications.

#### **4.6 Conclusions**

The changing nature of English urban fortification is central to my thesis. The significance of these features to urban communities cannot be overstated. Before the Wars, walls were a central trope in topographical writing and were a defining feature of urban identity, even though they were by no means consistently maintained. At the outbreak of civil war, these walls were refurbished rapidly, and even when new circuits were built, the boundaries of the town as expressed by the earlier walls was respected. The walls stood as guarantors of the authority of urban elites, and it is this importance that both explains and illuminates the later practices of fortification in England.

## **Chapter 5. The Siege and the storm**

Fortifications cannot be understood in isolation. Their military functions cannot be separated from their cultural meanings, and an understanding of how these fortifications were intended to function during the Wars (and how they actually did) is essential to understand those cultural meanings. This understanding is, in turn, central to an appreciation of conflict as a material expression of cultural process. In this chapter, I use a case study of the siegeworks built around Colchester during the siege of 1648, broadening the focus to understand the material evidence of siegeworks elsewhere in England before examining the practice of the siege more widely. The extent to which town sieges were a common feature of the English Civil Wars and the reasons why they happened, are examined along with the ceremonial and ritualised aspects of siege warfare of the siege to develop a better understanding of the cultural significance of urban sieges in the Wars.

### **5.1 The Process of the Siege**

#### ***5.3.1 The Material Culture of the Siege***

Historical archaeologists tend to approach warfare in two principal ways. The first, derived from battlefield archaeology is characterised by the forensic examination of the conflict in order to understand the course and events of the siege. Analysis is empirical, data-based and often follows a military historical agenda. The techniques employed include detailed spatial analysis backed up by study of the past landscape to develop a more accurate idea of the context of the siege (Carman 1999; Foard 2008).

The other approach is more theoretical, and draws heavily on anthropological and cultural approaches to warfare. Here, the main focus is on understanding the experience and cultural meaning of warfare, and the aim is to understand warfare as a meaningful

act, with (often unwritten) cultural rules and expectations governing movement, levels of force, and selection of fields of conflict (Carman and Carman 2005). In this way, the 'battle' becomes the lens through which the present sees the competing culture(s) of the contested past (Carman 1999, 236). In this sense, the archaeology of Waller's 'war without an enemy' provides an ideal opportunity to draw on this conception of conflict archaeology to develop a clearer understanding of the conflicting cultures of the English Revolution.

The principal form of conflict to be examined in this chapter is the urban siege. The fear of the siege or the storming of a town was a defining characteristic of the urban culture of the revolution. Even the most carefully constructed defences could be of little comfort. In July 1643, the retreating survivors of the Parliamentary army at Bristol brought terrifying news. The fortifications that Dorchester's residents had laboured on since the winter:

*...might keep out the cavaliers about half an hour... the king's soldiers made nothing of running up walls 20 foot high... no works could keep them out (Clarendon 1702-4 book 7, p.191)*

Dorchester's Common Council and church leaders had been outspoken in their support for the Parliamentary cause, now '...much dismayed, the richest and chiefest of them began to remove and carry away their goods to other places, which (amongst the inferior sort, especially the soldiers which were unsatisfied of their arrears) occasioned a kind of mutiny...' (*A True relation of the Dorsetshire Affaires in Dorchester Excavations* 1, 92-3). The town surrendered shortly after the appearance of Rupert's army and a glorious attempt to create the reformed 'city on a hill' was quashed overnight (Underdown 1992).



These fears, stirred by reports of atrocity and destruction from Germany and Ireland, were exercised across England, with propagandists of both sides playing on the horrors of war (Roy 1978, 128-129). Shortly after the fall of Bristol, Rupert's apparently unstoppable campaigns in the West Country, were celebrated in rhyme:

*Bristol taking,*

*Exeter shaking,*

*Gloucester quaking.* (Hyett 1906, 99)

The fear of urban warfare and its consequences is a central factor in understanding the cultural dislocation of the Wars. The clearest manifestation of this fear was the construction of fortifications, but these cannot be understood without an appreciation of the tactics and consequences of the siege.

One of the principal problems is simply defining a siege. There are many instances where a 'siege', even of a large and apparently well-defended town required a minimal period of investment and bombardment. Bristol (Russell 1995), Portsmouth (in Richardson 1997) and Leicester (Courtney and Courtney 1992) are examples here. These and similar interventions might be better classed as storms, or even as raids. In these cases, an understanding of the potential material remains of a siege, including prepared offensive siegeworks as well as defences can add to an appreciation of the nature of the event which is being studied.

To understand these material remains it is necessary to draw on the techniques of battlefield archaeology. Harrington (2005) set out a model for studying the sieges of the Wars, drawing on his work on 'small' sieges. He identified three elements to the landscape of a siege, or the 'siegefield'; the defences, the siegeworks and the no-man's

land between. The types of evidence likely to be observed at the defended site include burnt floorboards like those observed at Castle Campbell, Clackmannanshire (Cruden and Tabraham 1994, 29), or alterations to the fabric of the structure, such as defensive modifications, damage or repairs. Siegeworks can survive as archaeological features, or even as earthworks, as at Newark (RCHM 1964), but the most significant area for understanding the progress of the siege is the ‘siegefield’, or the area between the lines. Here, detailed survey can enable spatial analysis, in turn refining understanding of the relationship between the defences and siegeworks. A similar research agenda has been proposed by the Battlefields Trust (Foard 2008), who point to the usefulness of an almost forensic approach to spatial and ballistic analysis of material remains, and the ways in which historical landscape analysis allows movements and placements of troops described in texts to be better understood. (Foard 2008, 153-82).

### ***5.1.2 The Progress of a Siege***

To date, few sustained attempts have been made to understand the archaeology of a siege in the manner that Harrington has suggested. The documented and potential survival of elements of the siegeworks around Colchester, taken with the extensive documentary material describing the siege, offer a rare opportunity to study a ‘siegefield’ in more detail.

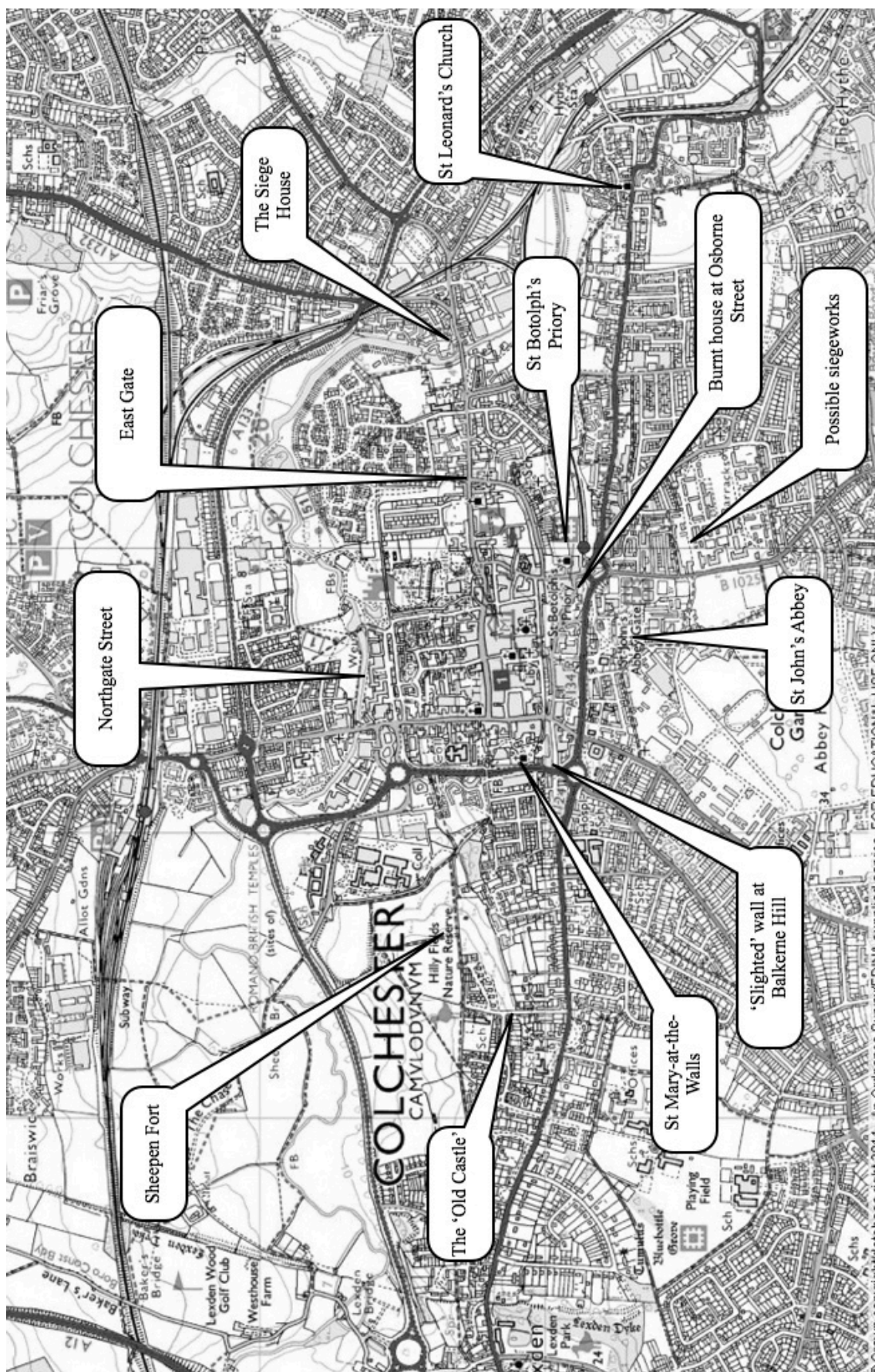


Figure 5.1 map of Colchester showing location of sites noted in the text

The siegeworks that were built around Colchester in 1648 by the New Model Army are depicted on a broadsheet map, first published in 1648 (Goose and Cooper 1994, 74). Later copies and adaptations of this map exist, but the original is at least near-contemporary. Like the Clampe map of Newark (RCHM 1964, frontispiece), the siege map was always intended as an illustrative piece; its depictions are schematic and artistic, and its accuracy rapidly falls away beyond the extents of Speed's 1612 plan of the town. Few defensive works are shown, suggestive either of having been drawn from outside the town or reflecting the hasty preparations of the Royalists. The siege map fits into a tradition of published graphical representations of sieges, siegeworks and defences, the most famous British example of which is probably the broadsheet map of the siege of Leith (Pollard 2008) although is unusual to see the level of detail apparent in the Colchester siege map in an English broadsheet; such publications were rapidly produced, often at printing centres removed from the events.





Figure 5.2 The Colchester Siege Map (from Colchester Library Local Studies Section)

Where archaeological fieldwork has identified features related to the siege, these observations have generally correlated with the depiction on the siege map. A metallised platform was observed at Oaks Drive on a site identified in an unattributed note as ‘the Old Castle’ (Hall 1958) coinciding with a small square bulwark on the line of circumvallation shown just to the north of Lexden Road (Mabbitt 1998). 250m to the north-west, at Sheepen, the characteristic outline of a four-cornered bastioned fort can be identified in aerial photographs; this feature was also partially excavated by Hawkes and Hull (1947, 118), and has been traced in geophysical surveys (Mabbitt 1998, 64 and fig. 11). A watching brief at Turner Rise in 1997 recorded the presence of post-medieval ditches which did not follow field boundaries that could be identified in historic mapping, one of which contained a musket ball, possibly indicating the site of Fort Rainsborough (Shimmin, pers. comm. 1998). Archaeological excavations on the site of the former Meanee barracks at Colchester identified possible siege work ditches to the east of Mersea Road, on a line which could be projected from the siege map (Brooks, in preparation). Elsewhere, attempts to identify the siegeworks through archaeological investigations have proved either negative or inconclusive, with works at Crouched Friars (Shimmin and Gorniak 2004), Brook Street (Orr 2004), and Sheepen Road (Pooley 2007) producing no evidence of the siegeworks, while the interpretation of post-medieval ditches excavated at Goojerat Road remains uncertain (Brooks and Holloway 2007).



**Figure 5.3 Possible Second English Civil War ditches at Mersea Road, Colchester  
(Courtesy Colchester Archaeological Trust)**

The siege map appears to show several phases of the circumvallation in one drawing; the line runs south of St John's Abbey, which fell to the New Model Army on 14<sup>th</sup> July (Rushworth 1721, 1191), but includes works at Magadalen Street that appear to belong to the final stages of the siege (Mabbitt 1998, 14). Harbottle Grimston's House at Crouched Friars, abandoned by the Royalists early in the siege, is also shown, along with works to the north of the River Colne that were completed some weeks after the initial assault and destruction of the house. The siege map clearly depicts the circumvallation at a very late stage of the process, showing the town fully enclosed by the siegeworks, with a continuous line of works stretching from Sheepen Farm to East Bridge to the south of the town, with detached works to the north of the River Colne.



Figure 5.4 Detail of the Siege Map showing siegeworks at Sheepen



The first phase of the siege began with the arrival of the Royalist army, closely pursued by Fairfax' army. After an initial attempted storm was repulsed, Fairfax set up a headquarters and built forts overlooking the town to the West on the London Road. The arrival of siege guns two weeks later led to these western works being strengthened, and the arrival of troops from Suffolk allowed further works to be built to the North and East. The town was finally enclosed with the loss of St John's Abbey. Once the circumvallation was complete, few new works were built, and the principal activity consisted of advancing the line of circumvallation ever closer to the wall. The town was steadily encircled and then strangled by a continuous line of siegeworks; the Royalists surrendering through a combination of disease, starvation and threatened mutiny.

## **5.2 The Archaeology of a Siege: Understanding the Material Evidence.**

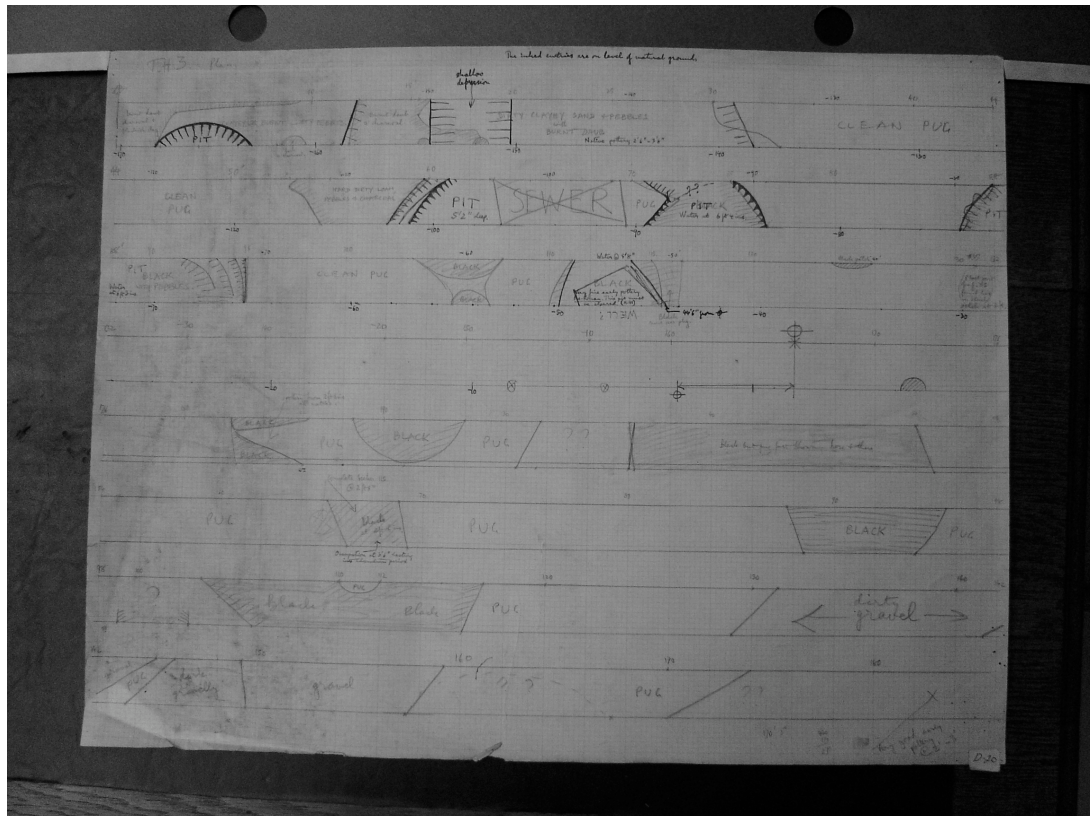
The Second English Civil War siege works at Sheepen were built over a much older archaeological landscape. Unwittingly, the New Model Army ensured the preservation of their works by selecting one of the most significant sites of the transition between Iron-Age and Roman Britain. The remains of the siegeworks were initially observed during the first sustained campaign of excavations on this site, carried out during the 1930s and published in 1947 as *Camulodunum*.

Hawkes and Hull reported archaeological evidence of the occupation of the site during the siege of 1648 briefly and primarily as truncations:

*...the floor... had unfortunately been dug away for a camp-fire by the Cromwellian troops... (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 84).*

*...the causeway was overrun by a ditch made by the Cromwellian troops encamped here in 1648, with a narrower trench branching S. from it (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 118).*

The *Camulodunum* archive survives, and is held by Colchester and Ipswich Museums. It consists of eight foolscap box-files of notes, mostly correspondence and finds lists, with a few working and draft publication plans in vertical storage. Study of the archive was initially disappointing. No identifiable siege features other than the campfire and ditches described in the published report are noted in the archive and the material that had been retained gives little clue whether other features had been observed and not recorded, or whether no other 17<sup>th</sup>-century features had been identified. Frustratingly, the few surviving field plans and sketches that were retained suggest that the field records had been comprehensive, detailing modern features such as sewers, but none record identifiable siege period features. While there is nothing to show that substantial features or groups of features were present, the finds records include references to ‘Cromwellian’ material, suggesting that other features may have been observed.

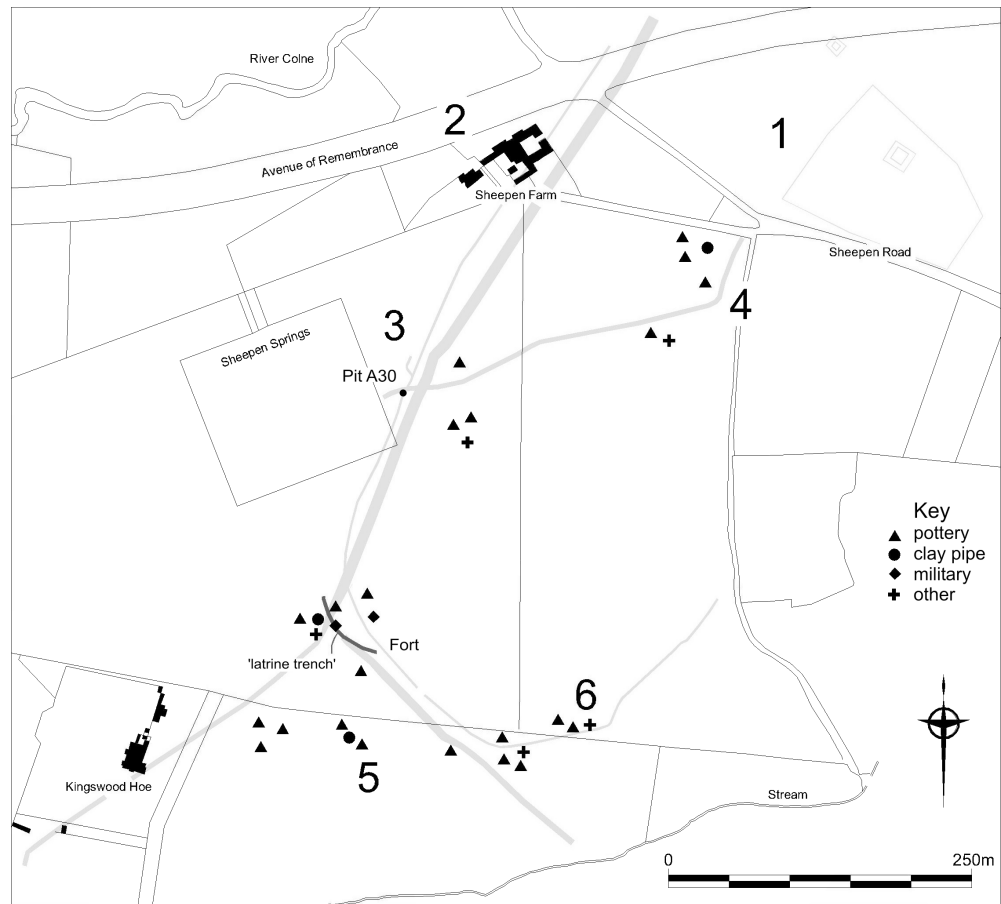


**Figure 5.5 Material evidence: one of the few site drawings available in the Sheepen archive**

The finds records note quantities, summary descriptions and location based on trench survey points. Any post-medieval material observed could be described as 'Cromwellian', though not all was, and all the recorded finds appear to have been discarded on site, with some finds records endorsed with comments including 'all Cromwellian rubbish - discarded'. The attribution of artefacts to the siege is consequently difficult. Military material, such as musket or pistol balls and powder flask nozzles can be fairly confidently ascribed to the siege, but the bulk of the material, consisting of pottery, clay pipe and bottles could derive from other sources such as manuring scatters, or chance loss, even if the reported ascriptions to the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century are correct. Without the material to hand, its identification cannot be reassessed and the confidence with which it can be ascribed to the siege is dubious. Conversely, not all that was recovered was necessarily recorded within the site records. Three complete pots (see Cotter 2000, 218-9), a 'number' of lead musket balls, part of a steel cuirass and a lobster-pot helmet from the Sheepen excavations were donated by the Colchester Excavation Committee to the Colchester and Essex Museum but are absent from the site finds records in the archive. These items are recorded in the Museum accessions register for 1931 and the annual report of the Borough Muniments Committee (Hull 1932, 51-3). A second group of material, apparently from the 1932 season, including musket balls (accession number 1973.195), spurs (acc. 1973.122) and fragments of window glass and part-melted lead comes (acc. 1973.200) were retrospectively accessioned in 1973, while a spur (acc. 1973.221) and an entrenching tool (acc. 1973.222), apparently from the excavations, were gifted to the Museum in the same year. The non-consecutive accession codes, suggest that the latter items comprised a separate donation. The note 'fort' was appended to these later records in the accession registers, although there is no explanation of this comment. A group of musket balls and a spur (acc. 1942.153) were

recorded as coming from a 'new' sand pit, dug in 1942. These objects appear to form the bulk of the smaller items published in the popular history of the siege published by Colchester and Essex Museum (Clarke 1975).

Clearly, there are significant problems with using this material, and any results have to be treated with caution; the results are more probabilistic indications than conclusive evidence. Only a small proportion of the pottery was described beyond a sherd count, and even this is not always provided, making precise quantification impossible; the only way to realistically quantify the material is by the number of records. This distorts any record in favour of small groups of material, but at least allows some spatial analysis. Without the original site survey drawings, the majority of the material could not be accurately located. Only around one-third of the post-Roman finds could be referenced to occupation sites or to features shown on the published plans. Plotting these suggests three clusters of material (Figure 5.6): around the fort site on the crest of the hill (Area G), the southern edge of Fort Field (Area Y) and on the hillside falling away to the north and East (Area L).



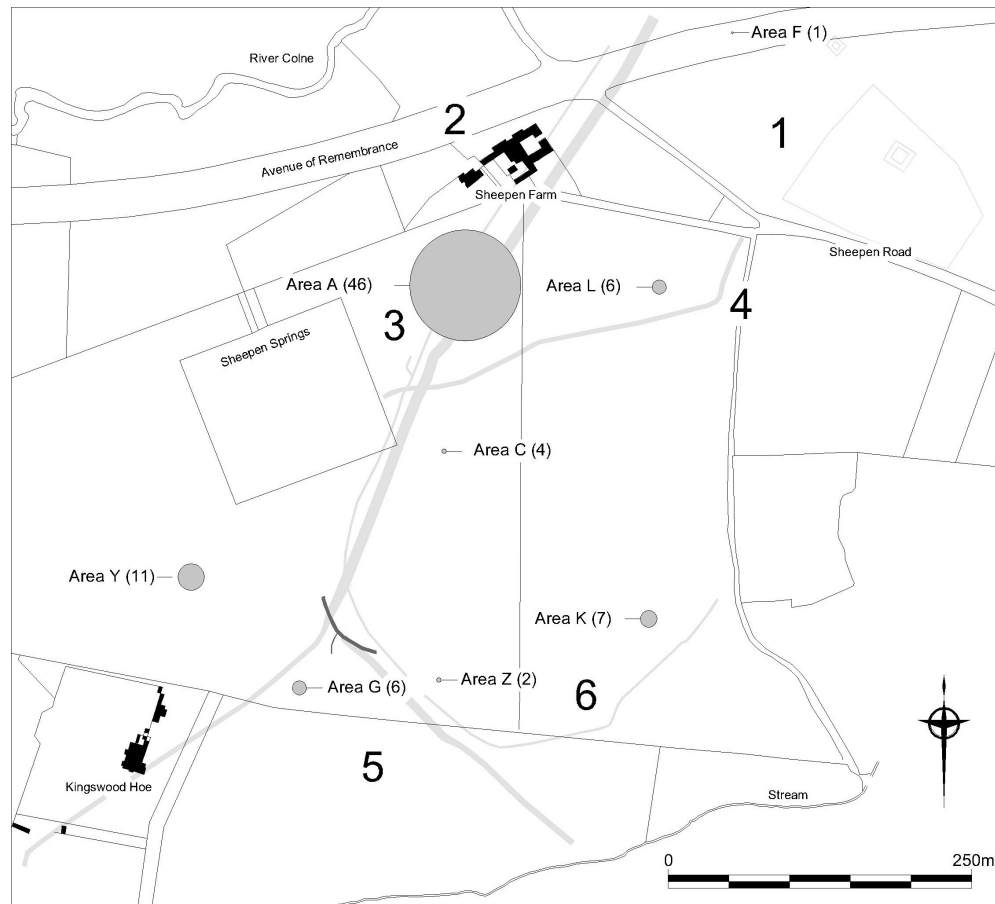
**Figure 5.6 ‘Cromwellian’ material from Sheepen plotted by identifiable location (numbers refer to Hawkes and Hull’s ‘Regions’, site sub-divisions that were adopted in post-excavation-Area locations are shown on Figure 5.7)**

To use an alternative method of quantification, the finds can be grouped by area and compared with the clusters described above (Figure 5.7). In theory, this will remove any bias resulting from different standards of recording by individuals, but provides a more coarse-grained view of the assemblage. These results show a different pattern of deposition; the most productive area for the recovery of post-medieval material was Area A, representing over half of the material recovered. Significantly, the ‘Cromwellian campfire’ (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 84) was observed in this area and there are records of at least twelve ‘Cromwellian’ potsherds, a coin and further unspecified ‘Cromwellian’ material being recovered from pit A30. There are also records of four lead nozzles from powder flasks from this area. The finds that can be plotted in this area represent a small fraction of the assemblage of post-medieval

material that was recovered from this area because the majority of post-medieval material from this part of the site was recorded by location within a trench, rather than being referenced to a specific feature; relying only on the material which could be accurately plotted would have distorted this picture significantly.

**Table 5.1 ‘Cromwellian’ finds from Sheepen by Area**

<b>Area</b>	<b>Number of records</b>	<b>Percentage of total</b>
A	46	57
C	2	2.5
F	1	1.5
G	6	7
K	7	9
L	6	7
Y	11	13.5
Z	2	2.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>100</b>



**Figure 5.7 ‘Cromwellian’ material from Sheepen plotted by Area**

By contrast, only around 10% of the post-medieval material was recovered from the vicinity of the fort in Area G, which appeared to be one of the most productive areas when considered in terms of accurately located material. This area did however produce the highest proportion of specifically military objects, including bullets found at a depth of 3’ 6” (1.07m).

The southernmost work in the Sheepen area to be depicted on the siege map is the four-pointed ‘star fort’ that can be confidently identified with the length of curved ditch published in *Camulodunum* as ‘ditch of 1648’ and ‘latrine trench of 1648’ (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 118 - Area G). The form of this work with bastions to all four corners is consistent with it having been a detached fort that was later incorporated within the circumvallation. It is possibly the fort built in the first week of the siege on the hill called ‘the Warren’ (Carter 1650, 138, Thomason/669.f.12[61]), although this argument

should not be overstated. Geophysical survey work has suggested that the shallow ‘latrine trench’ was in fact the rear face of the north-west bastion of this fort (Mabbitt 1998, 64). The shallow depth of this trench need not be seen as a problem; Hawkes and Hull noted severe erosion, or denudation, in this area and excavation of the circumvallation at Newark by the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments showed a relatively shallow ditch, around 1m to 1.5m deep (RCHM 1960, 39). Furthermore, the ephemeral nature of such a military work acts as a caution to archaeologists who may be expecting the more substantial works suggested in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century technical literature. The interpretation of the form of the ditch leading north from the fort (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 118) is more difficult; the published plan is not easily reconciled with the siege map, nor indeed the geophysical survey (and it is unclear at this point how far the plans published by Hawkes and Hull projected features where they had not necessarily been observed) but it appears to have been the circumvallation trench extending to the north.





**Figure 5.8 Aerial photograph of the Sheepen fort visible at centre right - north is to the left of the image (Courtesy Colchester Archaeological Trust)**

As Sheepen was excavated over several seasons, the dates of finds can be used to establish general locations for some of the accessioned, but otherwise unrecorded material within individual regions of the site. This approach lacks precision, but reveals a very significant point. Around half the post-medieval material, including the breastplate, helmet and group of almost complete pots was recovered during the 1931 season. The areas excavated in 1931 were Area E, the Bypass north of Sheepen Farm in Region 2 (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 70) and Area A in Region 3, on the north-facing slope (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 77; a working plan of these excavations survives in the archive). There is evidence that significant quantities of post-medieval and military material were recovered from Area A, but there is an almost total absence of recorded post-medieval material from the foot of Sheepen Hill, an observation confirmed by the

absence of post-medieval features within the areas excavated in 1970 (Niblett 1985).

Area A seems to be the most plausible location for these finds rather than the commonly accepted star fort in Area G (cf. Cotter 2000, 218). This fort was first investigated, however, in 1932 (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 108) and cannot be the source of these artefacts.

The source of the post-medieval finds from Area A is consequently something of a riddle. Hawkes and Hull, in contrast to their discussion of the fort in Area G, make little reference to post-medieval or 'Cromwellian' features in Area A other than the 'campfire'. The siege map does not suggest any identifiable fortifications in this area. Colonel Ewer's Leaguer is shown on the siege map to the south-east of a group of buildings, presumably Sheepen Farm. The Leaguer was probably built after Ewer's arrival at the town with the artillery train between 17 and 20 June. The name suggests a fortified camp, and it was presumably the 'great work at the top of the hill' that was built shortly after Ewer's arrival (Rushworth 1721, 1157). The location shown by the siege map places this work in Area L. There is, however, little evidence for the recovery of post-medieval material from Area L, which is adjacent to Area E and was further investigated in the 1970 excavations which did not identify any features related to the siege. Area A was located to the south-west of Sheepen farm, however, and this area was located within Great Fort Field (ERO D/CT 220A/B). The siege map includes some notable errors where the artist could not rely on Speed's map as a template (Mabbitt 1998, 4-5), and this discrepancy in the location of the Leaguer may not be significant.

The caution with which the evidence from the *Camulodunum* archive must be treated cannot be overstated. However, the clear concentration of post-medieval military material at the site of the known fort, suggests that a substantial element of the

excavated material related to the siege can be shown to relate to excavated archaeological features from that period. To extrapolate from this, it can be suggested that the presence of artefactual material deriving from the siege is suggestive of the presence of related archaeological features. Taken together, these suggest that Colonel Ewer's Leaguer survives within the core of the Romano-British site in Hawkes and Hull's Area A, and in Great Fort Field. The significance of this suggestion is that it may yet be possible to identify further traces of the siegeworks at Sheepen, allowing for further testing of the siege map and an enhanced understanding of the form and operation of these features.

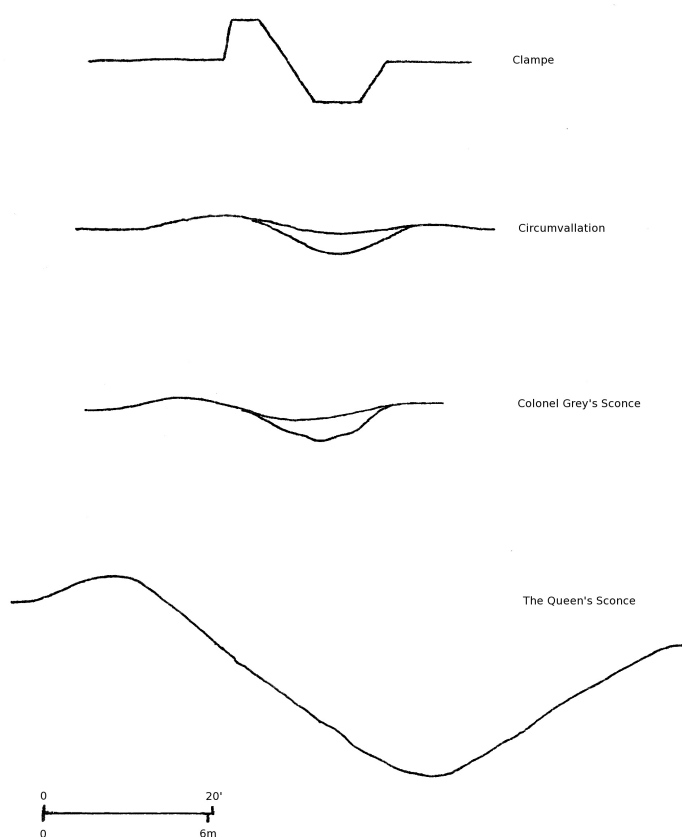
### **5.3 Understanding the Cultural Meaning of Sieges**

A material culture approach to the town sieges of the English Civil Wars demands an understanding of a number of issues. Besides an understanding of the detailed events and archaeology of the siege, important issues to consider include tactical placement and movement within the past landscape, the levels of violence used and the targets at which violence was directed, and the links between the practise of warfare and the culture in which it was fought.

#### ***5.3.1 The Form of the Battlefield***

The circumvallation at Colchester represents a completed offensive scheme, as complex and meaningful as the town defences that it opposed. As at Newark, the lines consisted of identifiable works linked by a continuous, or near continuous ditch. At Colchester, there is no archaeological evidence for a bank, but one is shown in the siege map, and a bank survived as earthworks in places behind the Newark circumvallation (RCHM 1964, 39). This bank behind the ditch contrasts with modern fire trenches, where upcast material is used to form a protective glacis in front of the trench. The line

of circumvallation effectively mirrored the town's defences; at Newark the line extended north and south, respecting the positions and field of fire of the major works at the King and Queen's Sconces (RCHM 1964). The distance between the works on the line was, at Colchester fairly even at 2-300m. The line itself was between 500 and 100m from the town wall, the works being built closer as the siege progressed. At Newark the distance between works was similar at around 300m, though the line was drawn considerably further from the town, at up to around 1200m, reflecting the superior firepower of the Newark Garrison to that of the field army at Colchester.



**Figure 5.9 Comparative profiles of the offensive works at Newark (after RCHM 1964).  
From top: the profile shown on Clampe's map, representative sections of the circumvallation, and Colonel Grey's Sconce. The profile of the ramparts of the Queen's Sconce, a defensive work, is shown at the bottom for comparison.**

The operation of the circumvallation was dependent on a town being cut off from supply or relief, allowing siege guns to be brought within range, or for works to approach close enough to commence mining operations. The key to the initial distance between the lines and the town relates directly to the range of the weapons being used. In order for the besiegers to be safe from musket fire from the walls, the lines needed to be at least 400m away from the nearest defences, further still if the defenders had a significant number of field guns. While the maximum range of cannon was between 1,920 yards (1770m) for a falcon and 2650 yards (2450m) for a culverin (RCHM 1964, 11), even the larger guns needed to be much closer to breach a wall; the guns that demolished the walls of St John's Abbey were brought within 'pistol shot' (around 100m-Ross ref), and bombardment from further was primarily intended as covering fire to allow saps and batteries to be brought within point-blank range of the walls.

The artillery strength of both sides is unclear and is not specifically recorded; after the arrival of Colonel Ewer's train, the Parliamentarians had access to demi-cannon, but the largest piece mentioned on the Royalist side was the 'saker' supposedly mounted in St Mary's church; the likelihood is that this gun was much smaller, and it is difficult to imagine there having been large guns either stored within the town or brought up by the Royalist army. By contrast, the Newark garrison is estimated as having 11 cannon in 1645, including 'Sweet Lips' (a demi-cannon) and 'a number' of drakes, or light cannon. The artillery establishment of the besieging Scots army at the final siege of Newark is not known, and possibly comprised as few as four cannon, with a muster strength of only 50 men (RCHM 1964, 19 and 53). This apparent shortage of artillery within Colchester also accounts for the closeness of the works on the line, which would have been primarily defended by musketry.



**Figure 5.10 Reconstruction of the Parliamentary gun batteries at Sheepen (Courtesy Colchester and Ipswich Museums)**

The concept of enclosure is critical in understanding the tactical conception of the siege. Just as towns were defended by being encircled, so they were attacked by the construction of similar barriers. Ross (1887, 47) suggested that the name given to these works by contemporary tactical handbooks was contravallation, or walls built against something; the term circumvallation, now more commonly used for these works, referred to a defensive wall facing out to protect the contravallation. This may be correct, although neither term is frequently used in manuals such as Papillon's *Practical Abstract*, or Staynred's *Compendium of Fortification*, and the distinction between the two appears to have been drawn primarily in slightly later non-technical literature, such as historical accounts citing the sieges of Alesia (Echard 1696, 316), Candia (Guillet de St Georges 1676, 372) or Esseek (Jones 1699, 413). In English practice, this outward-facing work apparently remained a purely theoretical construction, and no examples of a circumvallation in this sense are recorded in England. It was more

common that camps ('Leaguers') were lightly fortified but that the advance of a relieving force was met by the siege being raised so that the besieging army could fight in the field, as at Marston Moor (Ross 1887, 48). As noted in the previous chapter, the cultural links between fortification, siege warfare and enclosure are clear and were noted by contemporaries (Lupton 1632, 104-8), but other aspects of sieges link them to wider cultural discourse.

### ***5.3.2 The Selection of the Battlefield***

That towns appear to have been specifically chosen as places of conflict is in itself important. Towns were strategic objectives for a number of reasons. Some controlled important trade routes or production centres, as at Newcastle, the hub of the coal trade or Bristol; others like Leicester, were potential sources of money, goods, weapons or manpower. Still others held garrisons that had to be forcibly subdued. Examples here include Gloucester and Newark (Coster 1997).

In cultural terms, the town and its immediate hinterland acted as stage and theatre for the enaction of warfare as ritualised movement and gesture. What is most significant, particularly in a culture where identity, materiality and ceremonial were so inextricably linked, is that the siege embodied all these interconnected themes.

Coster (1997) argued for the importance of towns as strategic goals for military campaigns for three considerations: towns were important in territorial warfare as centres of command and control; towns held militia stores and magazines; towns were frequently poorly defended (Coster 1997, 102-3). The first two of these points are probably not controversial; England was increasingly a society ruled from towns, and even major rural landholders had long had economic, social and political interests in towns.

The third point is debatable, at the very least. To historians of the European Military Revolution, English urban defences probably looked outmoded or ephemeral. Parker saw an absence of fortification and the presence of few substantial siege trains (Parker 1996 28-9) as reasons why the English Civil Wars were wars of manoeuvre (itself a contentious conclusion), noting that:

*Most towns, therefore were taken by storm... with no preliminary battery; while the few remaining strongholds were bombarded by only a handful of big guns at any one time. Thus against Lathom House... Parliament could bring, in 1644, only one 80-pound mortar, one 27 pounder and one 15-pounder siege gun; against Pontefract, in 1645, there were only three heavy guns... and against Scarborough, in the same year, a single 64-pounder 'cannon royal' made no impression at all.... The wars in Scotland were little different: Aberdeen (1645) and Dundee (1651) were taken by storm, while Glasgow, Perth and Stirling capitulated before a shot was fired. None had replaced their medieval walls (Parker 1996, 28-29).*

Both Parker and Hutton and Reeves (1998) contrasted the use of field and siege artillery in England with continental practice. There were no field guns deployed at the battles of either Naseby or Preston (Parker 1996, 32), although the circumstances of these battles may have had a significant bearing on the absence of artillery. Hutton and Reeves point to the small size of artillery trains at sieges citing the siege train of 11 guns taken to Ireland by Cromwell (Hutton and Reeves 1998, 208). Large guns, like 'Sweet Lips' (although 'Sweet Lips' was itself only a demi-cannon) were so rare that they were nicknamed (Hutton and Reeves 1998, 209).

Conversely, the historiographical categorisation of the English Civil Wars as campaigns of manoeuvre is difficult to sustain. This approach is typified by Woolrych (1961), whose focus fell on the large and 'decisive' engagements such as Turnham Green, Marston Moor and Naseby. Even these campaigns frequently centred on winning



control of specific towns and territories, and the most impressive feat of mobile warfare in the English Civil War, the Scots campaign in the North of England in 1644/5, required the sieges of major towns including Newcastle, York and Newark. These were not engagements seeking a decisive victory in the field, but attempts to control territory. The historiography of impact studies points rather to a war of 'hedge fighting' or small engagements, of incremental and attritional territorial warfare. More detailed analysis of the armies of the English Civil Wars show a greater proportion of troops engaged on garrison duty rather than in campaign armies (Hutton and Reeves 1998, 199). This phenomenon was paralleled on the continent: Gustavus Adolphus' army of 1632 notionally numbered 183,000, of whom less than 20,000 were available for campaign duties at Lutzen (Parker 1996, 40). Vauban's French army increasingly became a garrison force, with the proportion of men assigned to permanent garrison duty rising from around one-third in 1666 to around 40% in the 1670s and over half by 1705 (Lynn 1995, 182).

By continental standards, English, Scots and Irish siege trains may have seemed inadequate, and the rapidly renewed or newly built defences minor obstacles, but this is to ignore the relationship between the two. Poorly equipped and inexperienced siege trains did not demand the level of sophistication, and more importantly expense, of the defences observed in the Low Countries. The Second English Civil War and the campaigns in Ireland and Scotland were different again. The Second English Civil War does appear to have consisted of campaigns of manoeuvre, but significantly, these frequently ended in sieges. Much of the detail of the Scottish and Irish campaigns fall outside the scope of this work, but it is appropriate to note that the Irish campaigns of the Commonwealth from 1649 consisted of a series of sieges, whereas Cromwell and

Monck's Scottish campaigns from 1650 can be seen more appropriately as wars of manoeuvre followed by the construction of a network of fortifications.

#### **5.4 The Frequency of Sieges**

It is an important issue to understand the reasons why a siege might be attempted, and why it might not. It is often assumed (Burke 1990) that a siege was less risky for a besieging army than a potentially bloody storm. The possibility of relief of the besieged by a larger field army, as at York in 1644 and the risk of disease and desertion, particularly during spring and autumn, as documented at Plymouth (Stoyle 1998) meant however that a prolonged siege was potentially fraught with danger, and was most frequently attempted where a town's defences were sufficient or ready to deter a sudden attack. In English urban sieges, the tactic of circumvallation as evidenced at Newark and Colchester was rare, despite its prevalence in the tactical handbooks. In other instances, as at Newcastle in 1640, the control of a town was decided by the battle of Newburn, six miles upstream of the town, and at York, the besieging Parliamentary army rose from the siege to fight the Royalist relief force at Marston Moor.

From the point of view of a cultural approach to warfare, this disjuncture between the tactical models and the apparent practice of the siege is significant. Despite the apparent primacy in written discourse of a very static form of engagement, when field armies met, a more mobile form of battle was generally preferred. In England, it was rare that campaign armies were garrisoned within towns for any length of time; the sheer demand of a large field army for food, shelter and money would have exhausted the resources of even wealthy towns rapidly, and sieges where large field armies were involved on both sides, as at Newark or Colchester, seem to have been the result of coincidence as much as any military plan. At Newcastle, after 1645, the Scots army was rapidly moved on,

leaving a smaller (though still substantial) garrison behind; the town had been defended by about 1,500 men. The Irish campaigns appear to have been very different, with military force concentrated on urban centres, though again, the field armies remained mobile. At both Newark and Colchester, the sieges were long and protracted, the siege of Colchester lasting 3 months, the final siege of Newark 7 (RCHM 1964, 22-4). In both sieges, the besieging army held the advantage of security from attack by any relieving force, despite the hopes of the royalists in Colchester for relief from Prince Charles or Sir Marmaduke Langdale, defeated conclusively at Preston while the siege raged. Similar circumvallations are recorded at other English Civil Wars sieges, most notably Pontefract, where a circumvallation was constructed, again in 1648. These circumvallations match the Military Revolution thesis, which suggests that increasing army size, more effective fortification and the arms race between gun and earthwork led to lengthy, bloody, expensive and static siege warfare (Parker 1996, 13), but the significance of these developments is their appearance late in the Wars, principally during the Second English Civil War of 1648. The war was fought through the summer months, and can be characterised as campaigns of manoeuvre culminating in sieges, as at Pontefract and Colchester, or climatic battles as at Preston which occurred when one army was trapped by a superior force.

### **5.5 The Progress of the Siege**

The progress of a siege tended to follow a carefully choreographed pattern, abiding by generally accepted codes of war (Donagan 1994). The garrison would be summoned, or challenged to surrender, theoretically guaranteeing the physical safety of the besieged and sparing the town from plundering. Where the summons was rejected, an attempt could be made to storm the town, though the summons, typically couched in polite and courtly terms could follow an attempted storm:

*SIR,*

*I Doe by these, summon you to deliver up the Citie of Oxford into my hands... I very much desire the preservation of that place (so famous for learning) from ruine... You may have honourable termes for your selfe, and all within the Garrison... (Thomason/E. 337[20])*

The response varied, but was normally in the same form. As the siege wore on, however, such politesse often wore thin. When renewed demands for surrender were fired into Colchester on an arrow; the reply was a turd affixed to an arrow with the message ‘An answer from Colchester August the 11<sup>th</sup> 1648, as you may smell’ (Carter 1650, 151).

Any surrender was made to agreed terms, but a successful storm could legally become a massacre. Cromwell argued, that he had acted within the law (Morrill 2007, 257) at Drogheda and Wexford. Cromwell had argued that the defender’s refusal to surrender and the involvement of Catholic priests as organisers and ringleaders put them outside the protection of law. Ó Siochrú has exposed the falsity of this argument, observing that the defenders of Drogheda were Royalists rather than Catholics and highlighting the arbitrary nature of the slaughter reported by survivors rather than the methodical application of justice suggested by Cromwell and Parliamentary accounts (Ó Siochrú 2008, 88-9). Even so, deliberate massacre and widespread plunder were relatively rare outside Ireland, with the repeated references to exceptionally brutal events such as the massacre at Hopton Castle, and the plundering of Bolton and Birmingham suggesting their rarity. At Newcastle, a full-scale plunder was avoided by Leven’s specific command (Lithgow 1645, 22), although the quartering of Scottish officers in private houses was a move towards the dreaded ‘free quarter’, whereby troops were lodged at the expense of local residents.

## 5.6 Meaningful Movements

Fortified towns more frequently surrendered following a siege. The terms of surrender could vary, and usually depended on the strength of the defender's position at the surrender, but the terms were usually favourable compared to the consequences of a storm. At York, the Royalists were allowed to march out of the town with horses, arms, ammunition and colours:

*2. That the Governour, and all Officers and Souldiers... shall march out of the City on Horse-back & with their Armes, flying Colours, Drums, beating Matches lighted on both ends, Bullets in their mouths, and withall their bag and baggage, that every souldier shall have 12 charges of Powder* (Thomason Collection/ 228:E.3[5]).

The significance of retaining the colours, being able to march out as an armed body, and to be able to fight off any planned ambush is clear. The surrender, like civic life, depended in a large part on the performance of ceremonial and ritual. Civic ritual has been seen as a theatre in which social relations were enacted, produced and reinforced (Graves 2003, 31). The ritual elements of the surrender are important to understanding the cultural significance of warfare.



**Figure 5.11 *The Surrender of York to the Roundheads* by Ernest Croft**

Ernest Croft's 1908 painting 'The surrender of the City of York to the Roundheads' is a well-known work in the Victorian tradition of paintings of the Wars, imagining Rupert at the head of a column of Royalists, framed by the arch of Walmgate Bar and the dark-clad Parliamentary troops lining the road. Leaving aside questions of authenticity and accuracy, the interpretation of the ceremony is as an orderly and ordered ritual. The troops lining the route are analogous to the crowds lining the route of the Royal progress or corporate processions (Graves 2003, Leech 1999). The interaction between those performing the ritual and those watching it was crucial. These public rituals not only gave the powerful an opportunity to demonstrate and reinforce their authority, but also provided opportunities for those normally excluded from power to subvert and caricature the accepted order (Graves 2003, 40-1). King Charles' arrival at Newcastle in 1633 was greeted by the ringing of bells and the presentation of a petition by Trinity

House, responsible for the navigation of the Tyne, against (amongst others) the owners of the Royal monopoly glasshouses. Subsequent Royal visits to Newcastle in 1639 and 1641 were met with civic acclamation and opportunities for townspeople to present cases and petitions to the King (Terry 1899, 83-105). In 1641, Charles' first act was to review the Scots army, an act noted without any great enthusiasm by the townspeople (Terry 1899, 109). At Colchester, similarly Fairfax's first act on entering the town was to ride round, inspecting the royalist lines and showing himself to the 'inferior soldiers' (Carter 1650, 181). When Rupert marched from Bristol at the head of his army after the surrender of the town, the army was reportedly chased by countrymen shouting 'give him no quarter' (Russell 1995, 33); these men were as politically engaged as those who prepared the welcome for Charles I at Newcastle in 1633.

Just as importantly for those within the town, terms of surrender offered hope that civic privileges, property and business interests would be respected. The terms of York's surrender are fuller, and possibly unusually generous, but their intent was the same:

*That the Citizens and Inhabitants may enjoy all their priviledges ... and may have freedome of trade both by Land and Sea... That the Garrison... shall be two parts of three at the least of Yorkshire men, and no free quarter shall be put upon any... all Citizens... shall at any time... have free liberty to move themselves, their families and goods... according to the Law of the Land... no building be defaced, nor any plundering, nor taking of any mans person, or of any part of his Estate (Thomason Collection/228:E. 3[5]).*

At Colchester, the Royalists surrendered 'to mercy', protected only by the customary codes of war, and could be liable for 'crimes' including Lucas and Lisle's, two of the Royalist commanders, breaking of oaths (made when prisoners during the First English Civil War) not to take up arms against Parliament. In addition, the status of the conflict as a revolt against lawful government meant that men could be punished merely for

taking up arms. The common soldiers were either imprisoned across the kingdom or transported to the Americas (Carter 1650, 205). These executions and transportations had not previously been common and were a feature of the Second English Civil War and subsequent Irish and Scottish campaigns, conflicts in which different rules applied, because they were either considered as treasonable risings or wars against foreign and colonial enemies (Donagan 1994).

Importantly for archaeologists, the conduct of a siege also followed carefully choreographed manoeuvrings. The development of the circumvallation was not a universal feature of mid-17<sup>th</sup> century sieges, but it is best seen as the most complete manifestation of an offensive scheme. Even where a continuous line was not drawn around a town or fortified place, there still needed to be a sufficient military presence around the site to ensure that the defenders could not sally out to attack the besieging forces, escape or collect supplies. One of the marks of unsuccessful sieges, most notably those of Plymouth and Hull was the inability of the attackers to cut off the lines of supply.

Enclosure was a concept that had become deeply rooted in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century consciousness (Seed 1995). As Johnson (2006) and Tarlow (2006) have argued, enclosure is also a central concept in the cultural discourse which the roots of modernity, whether expressed in terms of the Georgian World View or Improvement can be found; just as hedges and fences enclosed and demarcated ownership, or rooms within houses demarcated the growing division between public and private, communal and individual, so too did the circumvallation or other siegeworks. These works are a classic example of the expression of warfare through culture as much as through technology. A society obsessed with rightful land ownership, which could be



demonstrated by something as simple as a ditch, fence or hedge (Seed 1995, 20), or a boundary that could be perambulated in a ceremony of beating the bounds (Fox 2000, 270) was naturally characterised at war by the construction of long and elaborate offensive systems that functioned as obstacles and boundary markers.

In addition, the permeability of circumvallation is an important theme. Just as urban fortifications remained important not just as barriers, but as points of contact and entry, so the circumvallation and siegeworks formed similar points of contact. Towards the end of the siege of Colchester, the lines to the east of the town are said to have been drawn so close that the opposing troops could hear the other side's conversations, and resorted to throwing stones and brickbats at each other. The circumvallation appears not to have been completely impermeable. In the early stages of the siege, the Royalists sallied out several times to carry out raids on the surrounding countryside, and later on the circumvallation became the scene of meetings between the town's inhabitants and deserting Royalists and the besieging forces. A report of the 6<sup>th</sup> July was one of many instances where besiegers and besieged met:

*Yesterday Mrs Buxton, Mrs Lambe, and other women, whose husbands have much complied with the enemy, came out being fearfull to stay in Town, but having not the Lord Gen: passé were sent in again by our guards, to their great grieve, they want bread... (Jones 2003, 82).*

### **5.7 Conclusions: The Siege and the Material Legacy of War**

Urban sieges were common during the English Civil Wars, if not necessarily a defining characteristic. The reasons why these sieges were so common is, in common with the reasons why towns were so frequently fortified, to be found in the nature of English urban communities. In the same way, although the material evidence for siegeworks is scarce and restricted to a small number of sites that are dubiously representative, the

techniques employed to besiege towns appear to have closely reflected the defences that had been set up at the beginning of the Wars. This relationship between attack and defence offers opportunities to identify the influence of wider cultural discourses within siege warfare and to better understand the importance of urban sieges in the English Civil Wars.

In turning English towns into places of conflict, the English Civil Wars allowed cultural activities to be produced, enacted and reinforced. The selection of towns as places of conflict provides valuable information about their importance within the shifting culture of the revolution, and the interaction between the tactics of defence and offence shows just how far the conduct of the English Civil War was the result of this culture. This chapter has focused less on the material remains of the war, and more on the contemporary use of the spaces defined by the urban built environment and movement through the urban landscape. The process by which the meaningful actions of the siege and of the revolution became embodied in the built world of the town is the focus of the next two chapters, focusing first on destruction and then on reconstruction.

**Table 5.2 Recorded English Civil War Sieges (after Gaunt 1987)**

<b>Town Name</b>	<b>Date from</b>	<b>Defender</b>	<b>Attacker</b>	<b>Result</b>
<i>Berkshire</i>				
Reading	April 1643	Royalist	Parliament	abandoned
<i>Buckinghamshire</i>				
Aylesbury	January 1644	Parliament	Royalist	
Aylesbury	June 1644	Parliament	Royalist	
<i>Cheshire</i>				
Middlewich	March 1643	Parliament	Royalist	
Nantwich	1642	Royalist	Parliament	
Nantwich	1643	Royalist	Parliament	
Nantwich	Jan 1644	Parliament	Royalist	
<i>Cornwall</i>				
Falmouth	March-August 1646	Royalist	Parliament	
Launceston	October 1642	Parliament	Royalist	
<i>Cumberland</i>				
Carlisle	October 1644-June 1645	Royalist	Scottish	surrendered
<i>Derbyshire</i>				
Bolsover	July-August 1644	Royalist	Parliament	
<i>Devon</i>				
Barnstaple	1643	Parliament	Royalist	
Dartmouth	1643	Parliament	Royalist	
Dartmouth	1646	Royalist	Parliament	
Exeter	September 1643	Parliament	Royalist	surrendered
Exeter	April 1646	Royalist	Parliament	surrendered
Plymouth	November 1642-January 1646	Parliament	Royalist	defended
Topsham	1642-3	Parliament	Royalist	
Topsham	1643			
Topsham	1645	Royalist	Parliament	
Abbotsbury	1644	Royalist	Parliament	
Tiverton	1645	Royalist	Parliament	
<i>Dorsetshire</i>				
Dorchester	1643	Parliament	Royalist	surrendered
Wareham	several	Parliament	Royalist	
Weymouth	1644-5	Parliament	Royalist	
Durham				
Hartlepool	1644		Scots	
Stockton	1644		Scots	
Sunderland	1644		Scots	
<i>Essex</i>				
Colchester	June-August 1648	Royalist	Parliament	surrendered
<i>Gloucestershire</i>				

Town Name	Date from	Defender	Attacker	Result
Bristol	July 1643	Parliament	Royalist	surrendered after storm
Bristol	August-September 1645	Royalist	Parliament	surrendered after storm
Gloucester	August-September 1643	Parliament	Royalist	successfully defended
<i>Hampshire</i>				
Christchurch	1645	Royalist	Parliament	
Christchurch	1645	Parliament	Royalist	
Christchurch	1645	Royalist	Parliament	
Portsmouth	August-September 1642	Royalist	Parliament	surrendered after storm
Southampton	September 1643	Parliament	Royalist	
Winchester	1642	Royalist	Parliament	Defended
Winchester	1643	Royalist	Parliament	Defended
Winchester	1643	Royalist	Parliament	defended
<i>Herefordshire</i>				
Hereford	July-September 1645	Royalist	Parliament	
<i>Lancashire</i>				
Bolton	February-March 1643	Parliament	Royalist	
Lancaster	February 1643	Parliament	Royalist	Defended
Lancaster	May 1643	Parliament	Royalist	Defended
Liverpool	June 1644	Parliament	Royalist	Defended
Liverpool	November 1644	Royalist	Parliament	
Manchester	September 1642	Parliament	Royalist	
Manchester	May 1644	Parliament	Royalist	Defended
Manchester	1648	Parliament	Royalist	Defended
Manchester	1651	Parliament	Royalist	Defended
Warrington	June 1643	Royalist	Parliament	
<i>Leicestershire</i>				
Ashby-de-la-Zouche	Autumn 1645	Royalist	Parliament	
Leicester	May 1645	Parliament	Royalist	stormed
Leicester	June 1645	Royalist	Parliament	stormed
<i>Lincolnshire</i>				
Bolingbrooke	September-October 1643	Royalist	Parliament	
Crowland	April 1643	Royalist	Parliament	
Crowland	October-December 1644	Royalist	Parliament	
Gainsborough	July 1643	Parliament	Royalist	
<i>Norfolk</i>				
King's Lynn	August-September 1643	Royalist	Parliament	surrendered
Northumberland				

<b>Town Name</b>	<b>Date from</b>	<b>Defender</b>	<b>Attacker</b>	<b>Result</b>
Newcastle upon Tyne	July-October 1644	Royalist	Scots	surrendered after storm
<i>Nottinghamshire</i>				
Newark	1642	Royalist	Parliament	surrendered
<i>Oxfordshire</i>				
Banbury	August-October 1644	Royalist	Parliament	
Banbury	January-May 1646	Royalist	Parliament	
Oxford	May-June 1645	Royalist	Parliament	defended
Oxford	January-May 1646	Royalist	Parliament	surrendered
Woodstock	April 1646	Royalist	Parliament	
<i>Shropshire</i>				
Ludlow	April-May 1646	Royalist	Parliament	
Market Drayton		Royalist	Parliament	
Oswestry	June 1644	Royalist	Parliament	
Bridgewater	July 1645	Royalist	Parliament	
Dunster	January-June 1646	Royalist	Parliament	
<i>Somerset</i>				
Taunton	June 1643	Parliament	Royalist	
Taunton	Autumn 1644	Royalist	Parliament	
Taunton	April 1645	Parliament	Royalist	
<i>Staffordshire</i>				
Lichfield	March 1643	Royalist	Parliament	surrendered after storm
Lichfield	April 1643	Parliament	Royalist	
Tamworth	1643	Royalist	Parliament	
Tutbury	repeated sieges	Royalist	Parliament	
<i>Sussex</i>				
Arundel	1643	Parliament	Royalist	
Arundel	December 1643	Royalist	Parliament	
Chichester	December 1642	Royalist	Parliament	
<i>Warwickshire</i>				
Coventry	August 1642	Parliament	Royalist	
Warwick	August 1642	Parliament	Royalist	
<i>Westmorland</i>				
Appleby	July 1648	Parliament	Royalist	
<i>Wiltshire</i>				
Devizes	July 1643	Royalist	Parliament	
Devizes	September 1645	Parliament	Royalist	
<i>Worcestershire</i>				
Worcester	1642	Royalist	Parliament	
Worcester	1646	Royalist	Parliament	
Worcester	1651	Royalist	Parliament	surrendered after battle
<i>Yorkshire</i>				

<b>Town Name</b>	<b>Date from</b>	<b>Defender</b>	<b>Attacker</b>	<b>Result</b>
Bradford	several 1642-3			
Hull	1642	Parliament	Royalist	defended
Hull	September-October 1643	Parliament	Royalist	defended
Knaresborough	July 1644	Royalist	Parliament	
Pontefract	August 1644-July 1645	Royalist	Parliament	
Pontefract	July-August 1648	Royalist	Parliament	
Scarborough	1644-July 1645	Royalist	Parliament	
Sheffield	July 1644	Royalist	Parliament	
Wakefield	April 1643	Royalist	Parliament	
York	April-July 1644	Royalist	Scots and Parliament	surrendered after battle

## Chapter 6. Destruction

Destruction and property damage, phenomena rooted in the materiality of early modern warfare, appear to offer fertile ground for archaeological study of the Wars. In this chapter, I use case studies drawn from Colchester and Newcastle to develop an archaeological understanding of the destruction caused by the wars. I examine the extent, nature and scale of the damage, and explore the limitations and uses of the material evidence for developing a clearer understanding of wartime destruction. I develop the study of destruction as a culturally meaningful act, drawing on Herscher's (2010) conception of 'warchitecture'.



Figure 6.1 Title image from *A Great and Bloudy Fight at Colchester* (Colchester Libraries).

### 6.1 Historiography of Destruction

The most influential work on the subject to date, however, has been the historical review of urban property destruction offered by Porter in his 1983 PhD thesis, and

subsequently developed into a wider examination of destruction (Porter 1994). These works sought to understand property destruction in a revisionist historiographical undermining of previous conceptions of the English Civil Wars as 'moderate' conflicts which appeared to have had relatively little effect on wider social, economic and cultural life. Ian Roy's (1978) article, 'England turned Germany' was the first, and is still one of the clearest, expositions of the unpleasant and destructive nature of the war, and led to a wider body of impact studies (e.g. Morrill 1991).

Porter's work rested on two central theses. First, he sought to describe and categorise destruction, attempting to quantify its effects to argue that while individual episodes of destruction were no more (and often less) damaging than those resulting from non-military fires or plagues, such episodes became much more common over the period of the Wars (Porter 1983). Secondly, he examined the wider context of destruction, examining the use of threats of destruction to extract taxation from a town or the use of destruction as a politically motivated 'punishment' for communities which took up, or were threatened into the 'wrong' allegiance. Porter's general conclusions on the extent of damage were based on a very large and wide ranging body of evidence. The biases that Porter acknowledges, including deliberate over and understatement of damage, and the partiality and incompleteness of many sources mean that individual cases can be debated, but the overall picture has, become widely accepted as an accurate assessment, so much so that no serious attempt has been made to challenge or revise it. Twenty-five years on Porter's work remains as the much-cited foundation of the current orthodoxy. It also seems unlikely, given the limits of material archaeological evidence in developing a general understanding of destruction, that such evidence would at this time be sufficient to add significantly to the sheer weight of documented statistics on houses lost, financial loss and costs of rebuilding. Where archaeological studies have much



greater potential to advance the debate, or even restart it, is in challenging Porter's conceptions of the meaning of destruction.

For a subject that is so fundamentally rooted in materiality, archaeological studies of destruction in this period have been remarkable by their absence. The only detailed archaeological study of destruction in the English Civil Wars to date has been Lila Rakoczy's (2007) PhD thesis on castle slighting. Rakoczy used a number of case studies, drawing particularly on the slighting of Pontefract Castle during the Commonwealth period (Rakoczy 2008b), to examine the phenomenon of castle slighting in terms of social and cultural relations, and not simply as a purely 'military' activity. Her work dealt with the finer nuances of the mechanisms of destruction, the social organisation of the act of demolition and the cultural meaning of demolitions by different elements within English society, whether as opportunities for political point-scoring, opportunities to profit or military acts (and usually in varying proportions, all three). Interestingly, Rakoczy's work is rooted in the same accounts and textual descriptions of the demolitions as was Porter's in his own reading of urban destruction. What has changed is the emphasis on understanding the materiality of demolition, and the use of that understanding to draw wider conclusions.

There are problems with Rakoczy's work. It would be easy to criticise her demolition of straw men, such as a supposed belief in an 'apocryphal monolithic "local community" that rose up against a "hated symbol of oppression" and reclaimed building materials for "local use"' (Rakoczy 2007, 257), but her work bridges the gaps between the 'military' studies and Porter's more synthetic works. The use of archaeological evidence also allows details recorded on paper to be examined afresh and understood from a new perspective, enough in itself to move the debate forwards and allow different insights.

One issue on which Rakoczy and Porter agree is that not all destruction occurred for the same reasons or through the same mechanisms. Clearly it would be dangerous to compartmentalise excessively, and it remains important to understand that the meaning of an act of destruction could be conditioned less by the circumstances in which that act took place and more by the subsequent interpretations and memory of that event. This point is reinforced by Herscher's (2010) *Violence Taking Place*, a study of the material destruction that Herscher witnessed at first hand in Kosovo in the late 1990s. To Herscher, the meaning of structures was transformed through the act of destruction; violence against structures was not just a destructive act that could be defined as war *against* architecture, but was a means of cultural production: a war *by* architecture where destruction ascribed new meaning to structures (Herscher 2010, 83). These aspects of cultural production and the creation of myth are explored in more detail in Chapter 8.

## **6.2 Military Damage**

The most straightforward and easily identified damage is that caused during a battle for military purposes. The walls of a town could be breached either by battery or mining, or occasionally both, and the resulting gaps, patches and subsidence can be clearly seen where these walls survive to a meaningful extent. At Orchard Street, Newcastle upon Tyne there is evidence for two separate breaches in the town wall (Nolan 1993, 97-98). One of these breaches was caused by a mine just north of the Whitefriar tower, blown at 3pm on the 19<sup>th</sup> October 1644. This mine had been dug by the colliers of Elswick and Benwell under the command of John Osborn. The latter was described as 'a false rebellious Scot' by one of Newcastle's later chroniclers (Bourne 1736, 233), echoing Gray's lament for the fallen walls of nearly a century earlier

*This towne famous, being a bulwarke against the Scots; all the power of Scotland could never win it, since the walls were built; but of late being assisted by the English, was stormed.... (Gray 1649, 92)*

The mine was evidenced by an ‘ovoid, funnel-shaped crater’ measuring about 5m by 6m by at least 1.5m deep, and the subsequent explosion required repairs to a 13m stretch of wall, Nolan’s Build 17 (Nolan 1993, 103). A second breach was caused by artillery 60m further the North at ‘the Friars’. This breach measuring 55-56 yards, was ordered to be repaired by the Common Council shortly after the siege (TWAS 589/4, ff.165-7, 226). No longer surviving, but recorded in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, was evidence of further repairs consisting of earth-bonded masonry at Gallowgate, where there had been another breach caused by artillery (Holmes 1895-6, 110). Excavations in the Castle Garth at Newcastle suggested that at least one building there had been destroyed or demolished at the time of the Civil War (Nolan 1990, 87), but as a further cautionary note about the limitations of purely archaeological evidence, the c. 120 ft length of the castle’s curtain wall that reportedly collapsed under the ‘towne dung-hill’ in 1620 has never been located satisfactorily (Nolan 1990, 92). The reasons why the breach has not been located are not known, but could reflect clearance and reuse of the stone rubble either in nearby buildings or in the refortification; truncation by later intrusions (particularly by the railway junction that bisects the castle) or the limited extent of excavations. Even in a town with significant lengths of wall surviving, and where detailed surveys of the whole circuit have taken place, evidence of other documented events remains scarce. Lithgow (1645, 15) refers to the firing of mines which caused the town wall to collapse on a ‘demi-hornwork’, at Carr’s Battery in Sandgate (Lithgow 1645, 18; 21), and breaches at Weaver’s tower, Black Bessies’ tower, the ‘duneon [*sic*] of Westgate’, and one ‘low by Closegate’ (Lithgow 1645, 19), evidence for which has yet to be located.



**Figure 6.2 The site of the Orchard Street mine, Newcastle upon Tyne**

The use of documentary sources remains important, as they can provide useful information that would not be clearly evidenced through archaeological records, such as the number of cannon used or the time taken to create a breach. At the first siege of Leicester, six cannon of unspecified size breached the Newarke wall in less than three hours (Courtney and Courtney 1992, 56), with a similar breach being made during the second siege by a culverin and two demi-cannons (Courtney and Courtney 1992, 58). Pictorial evidence of the breach at the Newarke survives as sketches by a 19<sup>th</sup>-century antiquarian, allowing for a degree of comparison with other such damage (Courtney and Courtney 1992, 65 and fig. 11). Newcastle's Common Council minutes give some further examples of destruction that has not, and may well never be, observed

archaeologically. There are repeated references to repairs to the Tyne Bridge and the reuse of surplus timber bought for the repairs, possibly to restore the span that had been demolished to make a drawbridge (TWAS 589/4 f. 154). Interestingly, despite Astley's suggestion that at least the southern end of the bridge had been cleared of houses and shops, there is a reference to the continued survival of houses on the bridge (TWAS 589/4 f. 143). Descriptions of damage to property other than the walls and Tyne Bridge are rare within the selected transcriptions of the Common Council Minutes, and it is not clear how far this reflects either the biases of the transcriber, or the concerns of the Common Council. There are hints of the damage described by Gray; a reference to inspection of The Close in Westgate as being 'at present of little use by reason of the late war' (TWAS 589/4 f. 221) is paralleled by references to the illegal reconstruction of houses that had been demolished in Sandgate for the construction of a new fort and presumably for clearing fields of fire from the town walls and the fort (TWAS 589/4 f. 266, 267, 269, 277). This matter seems to have come before the Common Council because of the Council's involvement in the construction of the fort, and the subsequent flouting of their orders not to rebuild without permission. Seemingly the damage itself was not of note to the Council, but was the affair of the individual landowner or tenant. In addition, the reference to the results of the survey of the Close noted general dilapidations, but not specific war damage. These dilapidations may not even be directly related to damage in the siege (TWAS 589/4 f. 221). Similarly, no reasons were given for the dilapidations that required urgent repair of St Nicholas steeple (TWAS 589/4 f. 20) and the Vicarage (TWAS 589/4 f.45) shortly after the siege. The Common Council were subject to a petition for the loss of income from the fields known as the King's Dykes outside Westgate (TWAS 589/4 f. 281) 'by reason of the trenches', paralleling

the complaint of the tenant of St John's Close in Nottingham that his land had been made useless 'by reason of the bulwarks running through it' (Butler 1949).

Archaeological evidence for military damage has been observed elsewhere, but as in Newcastle and Colchester, definitive attribution to a specific event is often fraught with difficulty. At Gloucester, a spread of rubble dating from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century was observed near the town wall at Eastgate (Atkin and Howes 1993, 19; Heighway 1983, 60), and the upper courses of the town wall at Friars Orchard had been displaced, but the suggestion that these features related to military damage incurred during the siege remains circumstantial rather than evidential (Atkin and Howes 1993, 19; O'Neil 1962, 13). A rebuild of the town wall on Brunswick Road may be a repair of a breach (Atkin and Howes 1993, 19). In these cases, it is often only where a substantial area can be cleared or a specific horizon identified in several interventions that a more definite identification can be proposed. At Gloucester, Atkin and Howes (1993, 20-1) argued that an observed reduction in ground levels outside the town walls was the result of the recorded clearance of the suburbs before the war, with evidence of clay levelling deposits representing the demolition of the defences in 1662.

### **6.3 Quantifying the damage**

The extent of property damage has often been inferred from propagandist statements or from oblique sources. The accuracy of these sources is at best difficult to test, and often seems (deliberately) misleading. Leicester was described as having been sacked 'without regard to church or hospital', but there is a significant absence of archaeological evidence for destruction, particularly in the Newarke (the focus of the fighting in both sieges) where substantial houses built before the siege survive (Courtney and Courtney 1992, 57). The destruction of houses at Leicester may be

evidenced more clearly by decayed rents in the 1644-5 Chamberlain's accounts. These suggest a total of 46 houses, 10 tenements, one backhouse, one barn and St Leonards' church as having been destroyed at this time. Within these totals, the distribution of damage matches the recorded progress of the fighting, with the largest number of decayed properties at Southgate (around, but not necessarily inside the Newarke), at Abbeygate (where fighting had been concentrated in the first siege) and at Belgrave Gate - the entry point of the Royalists after the first siege (Courtney and Courtney 1992, 58-59).

Attempts to quantify the extent of property damage generally rely on documentary evidence. Besides historical descriptions of sieges, property damage can be recorded in petitions, particularly for tax relief or for permission to rebuild. Claims for compensation or relief of rents on the grounds of damage to property are also common, and in some cases, as at Gloucester, detailed records were kept. Quantifying property damage from archaeological sources is probably impossible. While survival of early fabric could be used to demonstrate a lack of destruction (see 6.7 below) and the survival of extensive rebuilding during the 1650s and 1660s suggests destruction, for example at the junction of the Close and Sandhill in Newcastle (Graves 2009), the absence of houses of pre-Wars date cannot be taken as evidence of destruction during the Wars. The survival of older structures and fabric can possibly be taken as evidence for the absence of destruction, but where this approach is taken, the evidence needs to be understood clearly and used with caution. For example, despite the documented damage to houses in the Close at Newcastle, archaeological evidence points to continuity of plots and of individual structures, and the question of how far property 'destruction' was archaeologically visible arises. Personally catastrophic events such as the loss of portable property and furniture, unroofing, or the loss of stud panels from a

house need not have affected major structural members, particularly in the timber-framed houses still prevalent in most English towns and therefore not have left clear evidence of destruction to be found. Factors that skew the 'evidence' of survival are particularly important in major towns where the survival of early fabric can in many cases be taken as evidence of post 17<sup>th</sup>-century economic stagnation rather than any necessary absence of destruction.

Conversely, the phases of rebuilding of a town could sweep away more than the above ground structures; the advent of large cellars and modern foundations means that Victorian and modern development has been particularly destructive for below-ground archaeology. As post-medieval remains are usually relatively close to the surface, the survival of features of this date has been relatively unusual and the low priority that they have historically been accorded (Lawrence 2006) means that where such remains survive, they have not always been recorded as thoroughly as earlier and more 'important' deposits.

#### **6.4 Deliberate Damage**

Iconoclasm, another act of destruction that typified the period, has been dealt with primarily by historians. William Dowsing's diary, a meticulous record of his travels through East Anglia in the 1640s on a mission to clear the churches of superstition provides a rare opportunity to understand the motivations, and activities of the iconoclasts (Cooper 2001). It is curious, however, that in contrast to earlier periods of reform and iconoclasm there are few archaeological studies of this deliberately meaningful act of destruction in the context of the English Revolution. Archaeological studies of iconoclasm (e.g. Graves 2008) in this period tend to explore the earlier iconoclasm of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Reformation, and on the cultural context of the shift



from Catholicism to the Reformed Faith. In many ways, the later iconoclasm of the English Revolution is more complex and interesting. While there were close connections between Puritanism and the Parliamentary cause and the more elaborate liturgical apparatus of the Laudian movement with Royalism, there are significant difficulties. In comparison to the earlier relics of Catholicism, the Laudian innovations were largely restricted to easily removed fittings, vestments and rituals that are difficult to observe within a purely material record. Even where the churches built during Laud's archiepiscopate survive, subsequent liturgical and structural change has blurred the extent of these changes to the extent where it can be difficult to identify either 'innovations' or damage to them. In addition, whereas the earlier phase of iconoclasm included the defacement of images, leaving clear evidence of iconoclasm, the removal of Laudian innovations comprised the removal of relatively ephemeral fittings. Even so, the conceptual importance of iconoclastic damage means that it needs to be looked at in some detail.

There are frequent textual references to deliberate targeting of ecclesiastical, particularly episcopal, sites by the Parliamentary and Scots armies. Atkin and Howes (1993, 22) refer to the deliberate destruction of the bishop's palace and scone at Over by Colonel Forbes' Dragoons as they abandoned it; contemporary pamphlets referred to the Scottish soldiers who 'turned reformers' on their march south towards York, tearing down altar rails and smashing images (Hunt 2002, 107). The garrisoning of Gloucester Cathedral led to the loss of almost all the stained glass windows amongst other fixtures and fittings. This destruction was not, however, confined to the Parliamentarians. In 1641, a viewing of the churches of Newcastle at the arrival of King Charles I led to the removal of galleries in St John's and St Nicholas' Churches as these obscured the views of the chancel and altar (Longstaffe 1876, 320).

Many urban churches were severely damaged, frequently through military action or defensive alterations as discussed above damage to churches; many, as at Bradford, Lichfield, and Colchester were used as fortified points. The church of St John, Bedminster was burnt in August 1645 by Prince Rupert. The cost of the rebuild was estimated at £3,500 in 1653, and it was eventually rebuilt in 1663 (Russell 1995, 33). Lichfield Cathedral was severely damaged during the final siege in 1643 and St Mary-at-the-Walls, Colchester was unroofed and the tower largely demolished in 1648.

There is, however, evidence for deliberate targeting of specific buildings beyond specifically religious iconoclasm, but could include targeted plundering or attacks on specific properties, as noted by Lithgow (1645, 22). Town walls could also be targets of such attacks. It is tempting to see urban slighting as analogous to castle slighting; the symbolic importance of the slighting of urban defences was probably much greater than any real military advantage to be gained by such actions, but the fact is that the slighting of urban defences beyond the utilitarian removal of inconvenient and recent defences is rarely documented. The Journal of the House of Commons for 1646-8 contains four references to slighting, of which only two relate to towns; a vote for the slighting of works at Worcester and Coventry (HCJ vol. 5, 249-251) and a reference in a treaty to the Scottish slighting of Berwick and Carlisle (HCJ vol. 5, 33-35). The Journals for 1648-51 (HCJ vol. 6), 1651-1660 (HCJ vol. 7), 1660-1667 (HCJ vol.8) do not use the term at all.



**Figure 6.3 Damaged section of town wall at Balkerne Lane, Colchester**

At Chichester, the demolition of ‘newly-made’ defences, including slighting of the medieval town walls, was ordered in 1659 (Magilton 1993). As in many other cases, it is not entirely clear that the orders were carried out with any great enthusiasm or vigour - one bastion appears to be shown on Stukeley’s 1724 map of the town (Magilton 1993). Atkin and Howes noted two phases of slighting at Gloucester, the first in 1653 when the town was ‘degarrisoned’ by Parliament and the second in 1662 at the order of the restored monarchy. Leicester’s slighting in 1647 is recorded in payments to workmen in the Chamberlain’s Accounts (Courtney and Courtney 1992, 59-60), although the new defences blocking Northgate Street had apparently been removed much earlier, with the street already reopened in 1645-6. At Northampton, the town walls remained a major element of the town’s topography into the 18<sup>th</sup> century, despite the order for their slighting during the Commonwealth (Foard 1995a, 17). The clearest evidence for an episode of slighting is found at Colchester, where the order for the demolition of the

town wall was given, and signed orders for payment for the tools to be used survive. Even so, the Roman town walls survive as clear elements of the town's topography, and there are few places where damage or repairs that can be conclusively associated with this phase of demolition have been identified. A section of Roman Wall, which is tipped outwards at an angle of around 45 degrees, at the South end of Balcerne Hill is popularly believed to have been destabilised by the use of gunpowder to undermine the foundations, but there is no direct archaeological or documentary evidence for this.

### **6.5 'Defensive' Damage**

The destruction of personal property was a particularly emotive subject for propagandists. Fire, the greatest fear of urban communities in peacetime, was particularly significant in war (Porter 1994, 12). However, such destruction was not solely caused by offensive action; Colchester's suburbs were fired by the retreating Royalists in 1648, just as Newcastle's defenders had fired the Sandgate, Closegate, Westgate, Newgate and Pilgrim Street Gate suburbs at the first approach of the Scots (Clarke 394, 6). These were acts intended to make the town more defensible; the burning denied the attackers cover for any assault on the town and it denied them supplies and plunder.

The suburbs of towns were particularly vulnerable to this type of damage. Houses built close to the walls of towns were often the first to be demolished, to deny cover to attackers. This could happen in a planned and orderly fashion, as at Gloucester in 1643. There, excavations at Southgate Street suggested that a 20m-wide strip against the wall had been cleared (Atkin and Howes 1993, 26). Houses were described as 'taken into the walls', literally so in the case of a large house incorporated into the post-siege defensive rampart (Atkin and Howes 1993, 26). There is clear documentary evidence for pre-siege

demolition, including the church of St Owen outside Southgate (Atkin and Howes 1993, 26), not least through the establishment of a committee to rehouse all those displaced by destruction of the suburbs. Atkin (1991, 35-6) used these detailed records to develop a chronology of swift, but orderly destruction of the suburbs. In June, contingency plans were drawn up for the demolition of 241 houses later valued at £28,720, with a committee for rehousing suburb dwellers set up later in the same month. On the 10<sup>th</sup> August, the suburbs were fired. City rental accounts refer to non-payment of rent where houses were 'burnt at the siege of 1643'. Justifiably, the town was described in 1646 as 'a garment without skirts, which we were willing to part withal, lest our enemies should sit upon them.' (Atkin 1991, 36). At Northampton, the St Edmund's End suburb was demolished, whilst demolition of the St James' End suburb was considered, though not carried out (Foard 1995a, 18).

Such destruction could extend well away from the town walls. Ham House near Exeter was burnt in October 1645 after it was used a fort by Royalist besiegers. 'Kemp's House at Stoke' was demolished for the same reason in November 1645, with the demolition of the nearby Royalist 'Kinterbury Work' following shortly after in December 1645 (Stoyle 1993, 6). Such actions were intended to deny potential attackers access to siegeworks, but were not always successful; Mount Stamford was reoccupied by the Royalists after it was 'slighted' or 'razed' in mid-1644 (Stoyle 1993, 8).

At Bristol, the outlying villages of Bedminster, Clifton, Redland and Westbury-on-Trym were burnt by Rupert who also threatened the firing of Stapleton and Hanham before the siege of 1645 (Russell 1995, 33). Tenements to the value of £460 were burnt in Redland in August 1645, and at Westbury-on-Trym, the tenants at the college reported

damage to the value of at least £2,000 a year after the burning of the village in 1645 (Russell 1995, 34)

Porter noted that widespread damage from destruction through warfare was substantially more limited than 'defensive destruction'. Bridges could be broken and replaced by drawbridges, as with Newcastle's Tyne Bridge, or over the Cam at Cambridge (Kirby and Oosthuizen 1993). Street layouts could be altered and split from the historic gates by reordering of the walls; at Exeter, Sidwell Street was cut off from the East Gate (Egan, 1989 29-32).

Prominent buildings immediately outside the town were particularly vulnerable, either because their position made them particularly valuable to an attacker, or because they could be quarried for materials to build new defences. At Weymouth, the Chapel of St Nicholas was demolished by the Parliamentarians and the stone was used to build a new fort (Penn 1980, 118). At Leicester the Grange Farm, the Castle malt mill and the Grange were demolished before the siege (Courtney and Courtney 1992, 52), and houses at St Sunday's church were fired after the retreat of royalist musketeers during the first siege (Courtney and Courtney 1992, 55). Seventy pounds was paid in compensation for the demolition of the Windmill for construction of Windmill Hill Fort at Bristol (Russell 1995, 17), although this was not paid until 1658, a full 16 years after the fort was demolished. The damage was not restricted to the urban fabric, at Plymouth 'many hundred hedges' were torn down to build the new outer line and deny the Royalists cover for their approaches (Stoyle 1998, 27).

## **6.6 Economic Warfare and Pillaging**

The fear of economic warfare and pillaging loom large in the explorations of property destruction by Porter and Roy. These studies are based on documentary references, and

the question of how such fears would be evidenced archaeologically remains. Rakoczy (2007) dealt with profiteering and politics; these motives are frequently easier to evidence in the context of castles and slighting rather than damage to towns and communities.

At Newcastle, Lithgow recorded the plundering that followed the fall of Newcastle; while his principal objective was to highlight the (and, to his mind, excessively) magnanimous attitude of the Scots generals, this passage illustrates the principal difficulty of seeking material evidence of plunder:

*...the common souldiers... had for the greatest part of them but small benefite, excepting only household stuff, as bed cloaths, linnings, tanned leather, calve skins, men and womens apparel, pans pots and plates, and such like common things... (Lithgow 1645, 22)*

As with many elements of property destruction, and without denying the severity of such loss in either economic or personal terms, the removal of portable articles from the home is unlikely to show clearly in material evidence, and is most clearly shown in textual or oblique sources.

## **6.7 Creation of meaning**

The deliberate use of damage, destruction and re-use to reclaim material culture and to cleanse and renew was not limited to the ecclesiastical. After Astley, the Royal Governor of Plymouth, was driven from the town, the wall hangings and curtains of his residence were appropriated to make waistcoats for Parliamentary troops (Stoyle 1998, 6). In other cases, the demolition of military structures was carried out by the townspeople. At Bristol, the Castle and Royal Fort were demolished after money had been granted for repairs (Russell 1995, 12), with the Royal Fort being demolished by

men of each ward in turn (Russell 1995, 17). Considering the townspeople's ambivalence towards these structures and their builders, this involvement would have presented powerful, if mixed messages.

Just as significant as deliberate slighting or targeted looting was the preservation of elements of the town. Lithgow (1645, 23-5) explicitly compared the looting after the siege of Newcastle to other sieges particularly Magdeburg, noting that pillaging of the town was prevented by the Scottish command and that Scottish officers were 'invested' in the homes of prominent citizens. Whether this was necessarily seen as a blessing by the unfortunate residents who were expected to provide for the officers is a different question.

While Fairfax extracted a significant fine from the elite of Colchester, the town walls were still notionally slighted; the accounts show the payment of men and the purchase and hire of tolls for their demolition (ERO D/Y 2/2 p241 and D/P 183 1/4). The slighting appears to have been carried out in a very half-hearted manner, however; substantial sections of wall still survive around the town, and the East Gate was not demolished, merely 'collapsing' through dilapidation in 1650. At York, Fairfax took care to avoid significant slighting of the town walls after the capitulation of the town. This decision could have related to strategic consideration of the need to retain defences against a possible Scottish invasion, to the payment of fines and the terms of surrender or the Fairfax family's long-standing connection to the city and its hinterland.

There is little direct evidence that the material traces of the war were swept away to mask the continuing political, religious and social divisions. Logan's map of Oxford (1675) shows the defensive works surviving in places, and at Colchester, Defoe (1724,



16) described siegeworks as still visible. He noted the survival of many of the siege works in fields around the town, and the visibility of not only slighted sections of the town walls but also the damaged churches. Morant (1748, 60) records the final levelling of some of the works as late as 1742. While Defoe noted the popularity of the spot of Lucas and Lisle's executions as a site for visitors, there is little sense in his writing of the conception of the relics of the war forming picturesque ruins.



**Figure 6.4 Logan's map of Oxford, 1675 showing surviving elements of the defensive circuit to the North of the town - this map was originally drawn with South to the top, and has been inverted for ease of comparison (Bodleian Library: (E) C17:70 Oxford (12); compare with figures 4.7 and 4.8).**

One of the most intriguing aspects of the material legacy of the Wars comprises buildings with visible, documented and quasi-mythical connections to the fighting. In Gloucester, Llanthony Priory, St Commeline's House (which received a direct hit from red-hot shot), Community House (which was used for housing prisoners of war) Greyfriars, St Oswald's Priory and St Mary-le-Crypt all suffered damage that is either visible or 'remembered' today (Atkin and Howes 1993, 22). However 'there are few buildings that testify to the impact of the battle...' (Atkin and Howes 1993, 22). This

search for visible remnants of the conflict is, as at Colchester a hunt for evidence that is chimerical, and can lead to major problems of interpretation. Put simply, looking for evidence of destruction in surviving structures is an understandable but incoherent research strategy. It is also one that has been allowed, through tradition more than any necessary evidential link, to dominate the material aspects of the study of urban destruction.

The paradoxical survival of early buildings in supposedly hard-hit areas of towns, like Colchester East Street, is not at all unique. Newcastle Quayside, Sandhill and the Close, in the line of fire between the Scottish batteries at Gateshead and the Castle, and directly behind the defences on the Tyne Bridge, are popularly supposed to have borne the brunt of the damage. However, the group of buildings along the waterfront here include two of the oldest surviving vernacular houses in the city, the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Cooperage (Heslop and Truman 1993) and the similarly dated warehouses on the South side of the Close. Archaeological and pictorial evidence has demonstrated the survival of significant late-medieval and early post-medieval buildings along the Close, and up the side of the clay scarp at Tuthill Stairs into the early-20<sup>th</sup> century (Mabbitt 2006 and forthcoming). Records in the Common Council minute books to The Close being ‘At present of little use by reason of the late war’ (TWAS 589/4, f.221) can be seen as an indication of damage that when taken with the archaeological evidence suggests a pattern of severe but localised property damage. This is in itself an important reminder that much of the destruction is not necessarily visible to archaeologists, even in an area so intensively excavated and recorded as the Newcastle Quayside. In addition, this evidence of survival seems to bear out Lithgow’s description of a more targeted destruction, Callendar’s batteries on Gateshead Fell ‘did continually extreme good service, not onely against the walls and batteries but also against particular places and

particular persons...’ (Lithgow 1645, 10) with widespread destruction narrowly averted, when:

*our people in this self-same tyme set a house on fire in Closegate,  
whereon there fell a meritorious destruction. So had the whole  
towne been served...if it had not been speedily prevented by the  
relenting pittie of the Earl Callendar... (Lithgow 1645, 20)*

Much destruction to houses might never be archaeologically visible; the destruction of studding in a timber-framed house, or the loss of a roof or upper storeys, whilst making the house uninhabitable, and probably destroying the contents, need never show in the archaeological record. Even where more archaeologically visible damage occurred, such as fire, the attribution of such destructive events to a siege is problematic (Shimmin 1994, 56). Examples of contemporaneous rebuilding or reordering of existing properties, as at Sandhill and the Close in Newcastle, are unusual but offer hints at the possible levels of damage that might have been caused. Establishing the connection between wartime damage and post-war construction, however, remains tendentious.

Developing a picture of the extent of destruction in the suburbs of Newcastle is even harder to do. Grey (1649, 94-5) describes the suburbs at Newgate and Pilgrim-Street Gate as ‘ruinated in these late warres...’, while the Sandgate suburb ‘escaped the fury of these warres, except some neer the walls of the town, which was fired.’ In 1647, the Common Council banned the reconstruction of houses between the Ouseburn limekilns and the town wall, an area covering the whole of the Sandgate suburb (TWAS 589/4, f. 171). An interdict on reconstruction implies at least some damage, although subsequent references to unauthorised building in Sandgate indicate that this order was honoured in the breach. Again, despite some quite intensive investigation of the Sandgate area, no evidence for wartime destruction has been found. This absence of evidence is largely a

result of the effects of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>-century construction and quayside improvements, which in many cases has entirely removed any archaeological features overlying either the clay subsoil of the river bank or the massive dumps of material deposited on the Tyne foreshore during the medieval period. Similarly, the Newgate suburb was extensively remodelled first by Grainger in the late 1830s, and subsequently over the remainder of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, culminating in the construction of the Eldon Square shopping centre in the early 1980s. The relative absence of material traces of wartime damage is commonplace, even in sites with clear documentary records. At Beeston Castle, Cheshire, the excavators noted the difficulty of identifying contexts associated with the slighting (Ellis 1993), and Atkin and Howes (1993, 38) noted that while one-third of the city was destroyed in the siege, the archaeological evidence for this is scant, if clearer than elsewhere.

The presence of early buildings raises very serious questions about the actual extent of damage, and can challenge received interpretations of destruction and to the construction of an archaeology of destruction. The clearest example of this is at the Siege House in Colchester, where the very survival of the damaged structure is taken as evidence of destruction. The absence of such early buildings cannot, however, be used in the same way. Comparison of the different survival of pre-18<sup>th</sup> century buildings in Colchester and Newcastle demonstrates the changing fortunes of the two towns in the centuries after their respective sieges rather than any difference in patterns of destruction. Newcastle grew, with the town centre being radically replanned in the early-19<sup>th</sup> century and the quayside suffering a catastrophic fire. The outskirts of the town were subsumed by industrial development and associated housing, leaving little of the pre-industrial town in a recognisable form. Much of what survived was swept away in redevelopment in the late-20<sup>th</sup> century. By contrast, Colchester stagnated following

the privations of the siege and an outbreak of plague. Little large-scale development occurred in the town until the 20<sup>th</sup> century; consequently survival of pre-industrial buildings is relatively frequent. In this case, the potential evidence for ‘destruction’ is actually the evidence for property speculation driven by economic success; evidence for ‘survival’ is a reflection of stagnation.

Documentary evidence for property destruction and pillaging also focuses less on the brick and mortar of people’s lives, and more on moveable wealth; descriptions of pillaging in Colchester refer to the theft of money, the destruction of looms and other tools.

#### **6.8 Humpty Dumpty Sat on a Wall...**

*Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall,*

*Humpty Dumpty had a great fall,*

*All the King’s Horses and all the King’s Men,*

*Couldn’t put Humpty together again (traditional).*

Humpty Dumpty is popularly believed to represent a cannon mounted in the bell frame of the church of St Mary-at-the-Walls, Colchester. When the church tower was destroyed, Humpty fell to earth and was broken; the King’s men within the town were helpless to repair the damage. This legend shows remarkable currency in ephemeral literature, adding to the influence and importance of the quasi-mythical connection, and appearing in schools educational material (E2BN 2008), comic books (Willingham and Sturges 2008). Tellingly ‘Alice Prescott’ stated on an online discussion:

*‘Humpty Dumpty is about the civil war and the Cannon falling of [sic] the wall during a siege, but the town was Colchester, Britain’s oldest recorded town. Google it or something. I know*

*because I had to do a project on it for history and found many websites on it. ' (Rooney Design 2006)*

More recently, Albert Jack (2008) explicitly linked Humpty to Colchester. In a subsequent short article on his publisher's website, he claimed to have made this link when he found two further verses in 'an old dusty library, in an even older book...'

*In sixteen hundred and forty-eight,  
When England suffered the pains of state,  
The Roundheads laid siege to Colchester town  
Where the king's men still fought for the crown.*

*There One-Eyed Thompson stood on the wall,  
A gunner of deadliest aim of all.  
From St. Mary's Tower his cannon he fired,  
Humpty Dumpty was its name. (Jack 2009)*

Jack's failure to identify his source in even the most general terms is significant - a frequently cited origin for the English Civil War origin of the story is an article by Davide Daube, one of a series of spoof histories of nursery rhymes first published in *The Oxford Magazine* of 1956. Interestingly, and indicative of the subject is that subsequent discussion of the topic has identified both Gloucester and Colchester as the town identified by Daube. What can best said is that Colchester's claim to the legend is by no means exclusive, and while Wikipedia (2012) provides numerous alternate and equally dubiously referenced origins linked to Richard III, Cardinal Wolsey, an undated siege of Edinburgh, an 'English Civil War siege tower' and a German Prince, these origins are not supported in any academic studies of the rhyme (e.g. Opie and Opie 1997, 254, Cooper 1994, 1), which identify the earliest written version (which does not refer to Colchester) as dating from 1803, in a manuscript version of *Mother Goose*.



**Figure 6.5 The Church of St Mary-at-the-Walls, Colchester, looking across Balcerne Hill. The Roman town wall is visible in front of the church.**

Today St Mary's Church stands behind the remains of the Roman town wall, facing a multi-storey car park across the modern road cutting for Balcerne Hill. Extensive 19<sup>th</sup>-century rebuilds have left the tower as the only visible survival of the earlier building. The church became redundant in 1973, and is now in use as an arts centre. Development of the area immediately around the church means that large buildings like 'Jumbo' (the town's former water tower) and the Mercury Theatre compete with St Mary's for the skyline. The links between Humpty Dumpty and the town were researched by the Victoria County History, who found no evidence predating 1972 to connect the town to the rhyme, concluding that the connection was popularised in the 1980s (Cooper 1994, 1). The earliest published version of the rhyme dates from 1803, with the earliest English Civil War connection, though not to Colchester, made in 1956 (Opie and Opie 1997, 254). Humpty Dumpty follows a form and metre common to traditional rhymes of Europe and Scandinavia (Opie and Opie 1997, 254; Delamar 1987, 49). The link to



the past, however, remains no less real for the absence of any 'authentic' connection.

The disjuncture prompts a revision of the materiality of destruction within Colchester.

There is a need to return to the commonly cited examples of urban destruction within Colchester to better understand the meaning of this destruction and to query what has previously been accepted.

The destruction of St Mary's was one of the better documented events of the siege, and is a common feature of the contemporary sources:

*The two demi cannon... were mounted against St Maries Church, and after a few shots, brought down a great part of the steeple, and the ordnance mounted therein, which falling upon the Leads, brought down most of it with them, in which the ordnance is buried.* (Thomason/E.460[37], 3)

*They also brought up their biggest pieces of battery... and again fell to battering St. Mary's Steeple, one side of which was some hours after beat down, with a great part of the said church; they also broke the saker that was placed in it... (Carter 1650, 142)*

The accuracy of these stories is difficult to ascertain. Parliamentary sources do not specifically identify a cannon in the tower, and while Carter identified the relevant gun as a saker, there are no other records of such a gun having been present within the town. The practicalities of placing a 1,500lb (700kg) cannon in a church tower would have been daunting. While the truth of the story of the cannon in the tower remains unproven, the church was certainly damaged in the siege. While 19<sup>th</sup>-century rebuilding has removed almost all the earlier church fabric, the uppermost section of the tower survives. The early-18<sup>th</sup> century repairs to the tower are in red brick, contrasting with the grey lower part that is a mixture of Kentish ragstone, local septaria and reused Roman brick. One parish register book, in a note predating 1738, states:



*...this is one of the churches in the town which was ruined by the rebels when they besieged it in 1648 and still remains a sad Monument of that Rebellious Siege (Rickword 1945, 311).*



**Figure 6.6 St Mary-at-the-Walls, Colchester from the South showing the rebuilt upper section of tower**

Understanding the authors of the key sources for these narratives of destruction is important. Philip Morant, antiquarian historian of Colchester was also rector of St Mary's from 1738 to 1771 (Rickword 1945, 311). Morant's account of the siege was largely based on Matthew Carter's narrative, and destruction is a central theme of both. As an Anglican priest of the post-Reformation Church and a resident of the town, this focus is perhaps unsurprising in Morant's work. Matthew Carter was the Quartermaster-General of the Royalist army at Colchester, and published his work 1650 largely in an

attempt at self-vindication, and takes the opportunity both to refute the accusations of treachery and destruction levelled by Parliament at the Royalists and to rehabilitate the memories of Goring, Lucas and Lisle, the royalist commanders. These narratives of destruction, however, were supported by Daniel Defoe, who visited the town in the early-18<sup>th</sup> century with an eye for the unusual and noteworthy:

*The battered walls, the breaches in the turrets, and the ruined churches, still shew marks of this siege, except that the church of St Mary (where was the royal fort) is rebuilt; but the steeple, which was two-thirds battered down... remains still in that condition. (Defoe 1724, 16)*

Morant did not, however, rely solely on Carter, and used other sources, including tax remittances enumerating the houses destroyed. To these he added comments reflecting his Royalist sympathies and a sense of hurt for the town:

*General Fairfax having thus made himself master of this Town, and in some measure satiated his revenge, sent... a canting account of his success to the Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the House of Peers...*

*The hurt done by his means to the whole Town in general was inexpressible: but I find in particular, that the following number of houses were burnt down &c. in some of the parishes during the Siege.*

*In St Mary's at the Walls, 51 burnt and ruined.*

*In H. Trinity – 32 burnt and destroy'd.*

*In St Martin's – 5 pulled down.*

*In St James – 28 burnt.*

*In St Botolph's – 53 burnt and ruined.*

*In St Giles – 17 burnt.*

*Besides Churches, loss of goods &c.* (Morant 1748, 68)

Beyond these references, material evidence for the siege of Colchester is elusive. The archaeological remains of siegeworks and associated artefacts have been discussed at Chapter 5 above, but the best known remains are surviving buildings which show greater or lesser degrees of damage. The most famous of these is St Mary's church, but other visible material remains include the 'Siege House' at East Bridge. This substantial timber-framed building, originally three separate properties of late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup>-century date, is now (2012) a restaurant named 'Gastro 1603'. Several bullet holes are visible in the external framing (RCHM 1922, 70). It is not clear when this building first became known as the 'Siege House'; the earliest extant use of the name is in the Royal Commission volume (RCHM 1922, 70), and while the use of the name in an official record suggests an established use, the likelihood of the name having a relatively recent origin is quite strong.



**Figure 6.7 The Siege House: 'bullet holes' have been carefully picked out in red paint**

The damage to the Siege House seems most likely to have happened during the Royalists' 'Grand Sally' against a Parliamentarian barricade defending East Bridge (Carter 1650, 123). The visible damage to the house appears consistent with a skirmish rather than heavy bombardment; visible bullet holes on the exterior are in the region of 20mm diameter, consistent with musketry. In recent years, the bullet holes have been marked out in red paint, though local rumour alleges that the opportunity was taken to make a few more 'bullet holes' with a brace and bit (Baker 2005).



**Figure 6.8 The Siege House in context. Note the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup>-century house on East Street beyond the Siege House.**

Treating the Siege House as an example of urban destruction raises several issues, however. The building survives as a largely complete example of a pre-War house, and the Royal Commission identified 18 further surviving pre-1714 buildings within East Street, all of which contained a significant element of building fabric predating the English Civil Wars (RCHM 1922, 69-71). The destruction of the suburbs is documented as the deliberate demolition or burning of houses (Carter 1650, 111; Morant 1748, 68), creating a fire that at times could supposedly be heard over a mile away (Thomason/72: E.445[16], 8). While the effects of cannon and musket fire on timber-framed houses are uncertain, the destruction by fire that is claimed by Carter and the anonymous author of *Colchester's Teares* would not have left significant structural remains of earlier buildings apparently unmarked. The survival of these buildings, not least the Siege House, indicates an absence of destruction on East Street. The Siege House is important not as an example of destruction but as an example of survival.





**Figure 6.9 The church of St Leonard at the Hythe (background). The house in the foreground is 15th-century (National Heritage List entry 1133720).**

The church of St Leonard at the Hythe also bears scars that are claimed to have been caused during the siege; these are also described as ‘loopholes’, made to allow guns to be fired through the door (RCHM 1922, 45). The door is punctured in five places with holes ranging in size from about 30mm to about 100mm diameter. A section of the mouldings above the door have been damaged by what appears to be the impact scar of a cannon ball, though this section is heavily weathered. The rest of the church bears few, if any, signs of the documented fighting at the Hythe. The absence of damage is not surprising considering Carter’s description of its surrender:

*...but Captain Horsmander, the officer who then commanded the guard, no sooner saw the enemy, but he delivered up his guard of soldiers, without firing of one musquet... (Carter 1650, 133).*



**Figure 6.10 The door of the church of St Leonard**

In terms of formal archaeological investigation, the only evidence from the town for destruction during the siege comprises the remains of a house apparently destroyed by fire in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This building was located at Osborne Street, on the South side of the town. The burning, it was very tentatively suggested by the excavator, might have occurred during the siege. The frequency of catastrophic accidental fires in early-modern towns was, however, acknowledged and the interpretation was wisely left open to avoid circular argument (Shimmin 1994). The uncertainty surrounding this building is an object lesson for the study of the more widely accepted material remains of the siege.

Neither the Siege House nor St Leonard's Church have much to say as examples of destruction caused during the siege. As discussed above, this is the central paradox in the accepted narrative of destruction: destruction is read through the survival of features. These structures are examples more of the durability and survival of the material world of the town - despite the siege - than they are valid examples of any damage caused. There is a troubling circularity inherent in the 'evidence' for destruction. We 'know' from documentary history that the tower of St Mary-at-the-Walls was destroyed by cannon fire; and so the repairs become an example of the destructive power of the New Model Army's artillery train. We 'know' there were skirmishes at East Bridge and the Hythe, and so the damage at the Siege House and St Leonard's church have become the material relics of these engagements, even though there is no material evidence for the link between place and event, and what evidence there is points to survival, not destruction. This level of circularity forces the archaeology of the siege into a very narrow, narrative framework that while seductively intelligible and 'common-sense' has no basis in the material record. As was said of a similar problem in a different context:

*Historians tend to regard material evidence as providing, at best, illustrations of what they have already framed as the major themes of historical enquiry* (Mayne and Murray 1999, 1).

## **6.9 Conclusion: Destruction, Warchitecture and Meaning**

Material evidence of destruction in the English civil Wars is problematic. Basic issues of ascription and identification mean that the use of material evidence to challenge documentary histories of the extent and the nature of destruction are not, at this stage, possible. On the surface, the apparent absence of evidence for destruction is a scholarly dead-end - the act of destruction has removed the evidence for its commission, and issues of attribution mean that the speculative nature of any interpretation makes such



interpretations almost valueless. However, taking a wider definition of historical archaeology that focuses on the materiality of the past, rather than just the material remains, is a valid and effective approach to understanding the meaning of this destruction.

The material 'evidence' for destruction in Colchester is instructive on many levels. As a caution against the uncritical use of documentary sources to inform archaeological study, it is a reminder of the central methodological debates within historical archaeology. However, these structures are more than evidence of destruction. They are meaningful artefacts around which transcripts have been woven. Morant's understanding of the destruction as an example of the arbitrary and ruthless nature of Fairfax and by extension Cromwellian rule, can be seen as a public transcript embracing discourses of Anglicanism, monarchism and local identity. But it is the apparent destruction that has rendered these artefacts meaningful. In the terminology of Herscher (2010, 82) these transcripts are the result of warchitecture; not destruction of meaning but cultural production through acts of violence against structure. The act of destruction generates new meaning and prompts new understandings of existing artefacts. This understanding of the significance of destruction in terms of the ascription of meaning to material culture is fundamental, and allows opportunities for the understanding of the materiality of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century English town that are denied by either a close focus on military archaeology or uncritical application of documentary narratives to the understanding of material culture. These issues will be considered in more detail in Chapter 7, which focuses on the reconstruction of English towns and the new or changed material expressions of cultural discourse that shaped the physical fabric of those towns, and in Chapter 8, where the mythic nature of destruction caused during the Wars is more fully explored.

## Chapter 7. Reconstruction

### 7.1 Introduction

The response to the destruction caused during the Civil War is fundamental to any understanding of the English Revolution. The concept of the city became deeply intertwined with contemporary conceptions of order, both divine and secular. Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1651) and Bunyan's *Holy City* (1665) both depend on the acceptance of the paradigm of urban society. This cultural acceptance permeates Bunyan's work; the *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678) follows the pilgrim's journey from the City of Destruction to the City of God, and the *Holy War* (1682) was subtitled the *Losing and Taking Again of the Town of Man-Soul*. As with the other manifestations of the Revolution in English urban culture, the material ramifications of this discourse can best be understood by reference to a specific town. Newcastle upon Tyne is a particularly useful example in this case, given its relative prosperity and growth in the years after the Wars.

The evidence for Newcastle's reconstruction is also relatively clear, while in general, evidence for post-war reconstruction of towns is frustratingly sparse. In Gloucester, for example, physical evidence for the appearance and layout of the houses in the new suburb of Bearland is limited:

*We know that new houses were built to replace those destroyed in the suburbs- but none now survive to tell us what they looked like- and the opportunities for excavation in these areas is now very limited. Yet the building of new houses, unconstrained by existing walls or boundaries, should provide a sense of the 'ideal' house of the time* (Atkin and Howes 1993, 38).

The reconstruction of Newcastle was recently addressed in terms of the discourses of godly order that were prevalent in varying forms through the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Graves 2009), and this detailed study set the physical reconstruction of

Newcastle within a cultural context, presenting a model that can be explored further and tested in the present thesis.

## **7.2 Construction and Reconstruction in Newcastle**

### ***7.2.1 The Earliest Reconstruction***

In 1647, the corporation of Newcastle gave permission for the Barber Surgeon's Guild to construct their hall in the grounds of the derelict Holy Jesus Hospital, a former Augustinian foundation that had survived the dissolution, apparently because of Thomas Cromwell's request for it to be made a meeting place for the Council of the North. By the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century, Holy Jesus Hospital had passed through a number of hands and was being used by the town's trained band for drill (McKenzie 1827, 132-4). This was not a direct response to destruction caused by the war, although the Barber Surgeons had met in the hall above the Pandon Gate immediately before the English Civil War, and had been displaced by the refortification of the town (Embleton 1892, 232; Pybus 1929, 287). A house in Silver Street had been bought as a meeting place in 1644, and while its fate is not known, it clearly never became a long-term home for the guild. The corporation granted land in the Manors near the Holy Jesus Hospital for the construction of a new house. The scale of this construction (the total cost of building the hall recorded in the guild's accounts is £180: Embleton 1892, 251-2) was modest by comparison with the corporate expenditure that followed, but even so the time at which it occurred is significant.

Other than this relatively modest work, the first buildings to be rebuilt appear to have been private houses and in most cases, evidence for the reconstruction is often oblique. In Newcastle, some owners of houses in the Sandgate suburbs were summoned before the Common Council in 1650 to give account of their works, and demolitions of houses

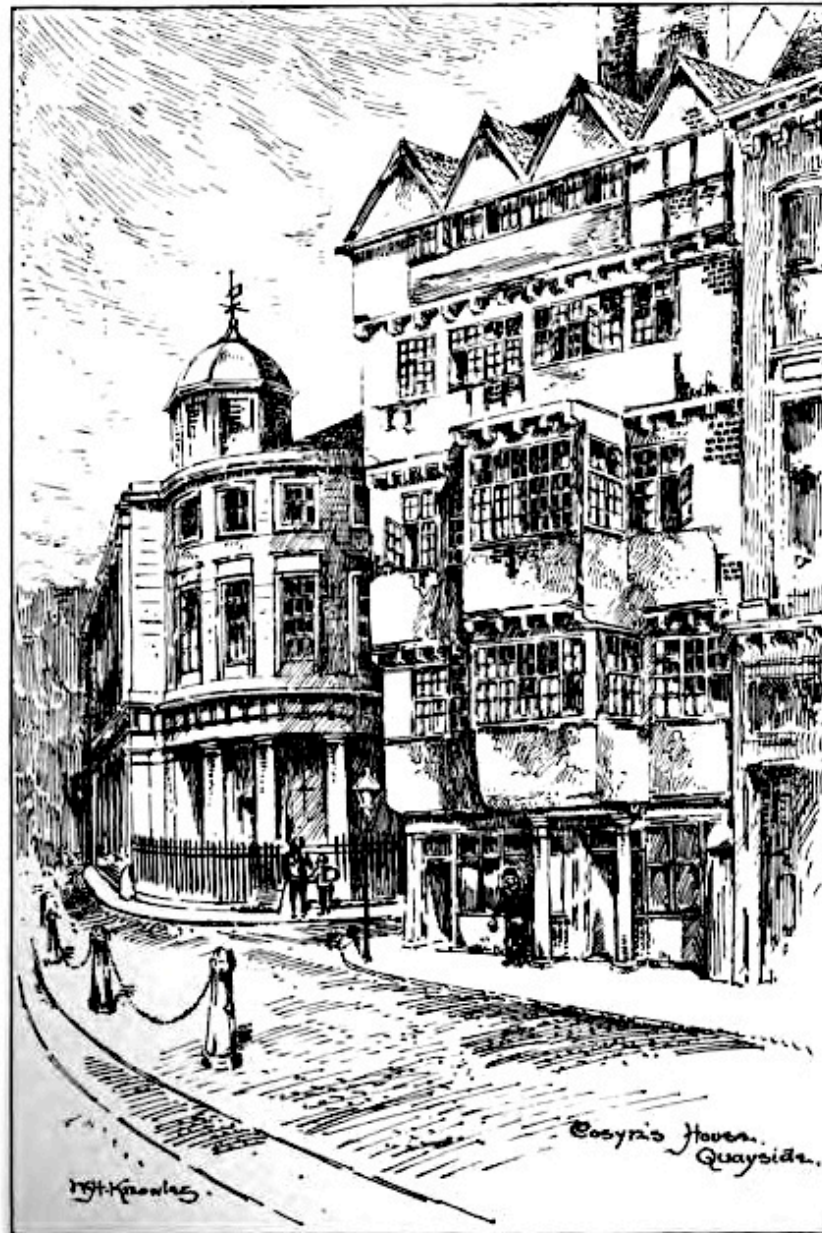
built since the siege were ordered (TWAS 589/4 f. 423). Dorothy Pathie, the owner of the Lime Kilns at the Ouseburn was similarly summoned to give account of the lime, already requisitioned for the repair of the town walls, that she was allegedly selling privately (TWAS 589/4 ff. 186-8). Again, as in post-Fire London, houses appear to have been rebuilt by their original owners, probably on existing plots, presumably in an attempt to safeguard tenure of the land at a time of particular instability. Here, the differences between property within and outside the town walls is instructive. Within the town walls, tenure appears never to have been directly threatened, beyond the sequestrations of the property of delinquents, whereas outside the town walls, where tenure was not so clearly established, demolitions and evictions could be ordered, although the ability of the council to enforce these orders is more debatable. The fact that the council felt the need to legislate repeatedly to ban the construction of new houses suggests that these ordinances were not commonly observed (TWAS 583/4 ff. 214, 228, 423), and suburban houses had been demolished to permit the construction of forts (TWAS 583/4 ff. 266-70). Presumably the number of vacant plots and potentially absent landlords provided opportunities for engrossment, although this would be very difficult to establish. It is not clear to what extent the continued (and growing) mercantile wealth of Newcastle fuelled the rapid reconstruction of much of its suburbs.

### ***7.2.2 Uniformity and the Godly***

Evidence providing more detailed understanding of the processes of reconstruction is available primarily for the elite and their houses. In 1647, the Close, the main waterfront street in Newcastle and the home of the town's wealthiest merchants for over 400 years was described as 'At present of little use by reason of the late war' (TWAS 589, f. 221). By the middle years of the following decade, a number of grand merchants' houses had been built or were being built in the Close and Sandhill; these were in the traditional

vernacular of timber framing, but incorporated a new feature, a uniform facade that predated the later classicising style that characterised the ‘Georgian’ (Graves 2009, 387). The point is not that these buildings were ‘Georgian’ in the form understood by Deetz (though when considering Cosyn’s house (Figure 7.1) it should be noted that Deetz’ (1996, 66) definition refers to ‘a bilaterally symmetrical, three-part format... left and right halves are appended to a central element that shares its design form with the lateral ones, but is also somehow different.’) but that the concern for uniformity, symmetry and order, prefigured the discourses that are shaped the later adoption of architectural forms that are more formally symmetrical.

Graves has argued, drawing on sermons by Newcastle’s radical preacher, Robert Jenison, that through their uniform structure and appearance these buildings were exemplars of a cultural expression of godliness and rectitude: the ‘ideal house’ of their time (Graves 2009, 405-6). Jenison has been identified by Howell (1967, 85-8) as a driving force behind Puritanism in Newcastle before the First Bishops War. Following a period of exile in Danzig during the English Civil War, he became a senior figure in the Puritan church hierarchy after the siege of Newcastle (Howell 1967, 220-1). Jenison seems to have been something of an intellectual leader in Newcastle whose sermons were attended, published, and read.



**Figure 7.1 Cosyn's House, built c. 1655 (Boyle 1890, f.p. 170). Cosyn was amongst the Godly in the town, being described, with others as having been '...in nature of Agents for Presbytery, endeavouring to bring the Scots into this nation...' (Boyle 1890, 171)**

The link between structure and Godly Order was broadly accepted amongst the Godly; 'the Geneva Bible has a marginal note explaining the meaning of the "city that is at unity in itself", that is "compact together in itself": "By ye artificial ioyning [joining] & beautie of the houses, he meaneth ye concord & love yt [that] was betwene the citizens" (Graves 2009, 388, citing Berry 1969, p. 263 note c; Collinson 1988, p. 31). This concern for Godly order transcended the street facade and entered the public rooms of the house. Thus, Graves argues:

*...the decoration on the Sandhill houses can be read as symbols of civic status, religious duty, and the “calling” of the law-enforcers: the spiritual armour of the mansions of the Elect. These symbols were not merely a passive reference, they were to be a constant spur to both the watched and the watchers of the demands God made of them (Graves 2009, 403).*



**Figure 7.2 Mid 17th-century houses on Sandhill, Newcastle. The Guildhall is at the right of the image**

These new styles of building and, what is more important the way in which structural style was rationalised, demonstrate a new way of understanding the place of the built environment of the city. Regardless of the interpretation of the meaning of these buildings and their uniform facades, Jenison’s sermons provide a direct link between the built fabric of the city, the civic authorities and Puritan conceptions of public order as divinely inspired (Graves 2009, 390-1). The documentary evidence for sustained and intensive reconstruction also acts as a caution against the apparent continuity of structure observed elsewhere in this part of the town (Chapter 6), and shows how the cultural changes that arose from the Revolution were as important in influencing reconstruction as were the opportunities provided by physical damage. As is set out below, however, what is significant here, is not so much the strong Puritan influence

that Graves discusses, but the absence of any clear cut material distinction between ‘Puritan’ reconstruction here and that in towns with more overtly Royalist sympathies. As set out below, the material similarities in the discourse of order, stability and the reflection of divine order in built structure between Puritan and Anglican, or Royalist and Parliamentary are striking, though articulated differently.

Graves’ suggestion that there was an exclusive link between reformed Protestantism and uniformity of structure and design is at best contentious, particularly in this context. Other historical and archaeological studies of Newcastle’s mercantile elite have argued for a significant degree of deliberate ambiguity in self-representation. Howell (1967) focused on this ambiguity to develop his idea of a society that became divided on national lines only once those national issues touched upon the immediate lives and business of that mercantile community. De Groot (1999) identified a deliberately cultivated ambiguity, driven by a simple commercial imperative. It is clear that members of the merchant class could, and did, identify closely with either the Godly or the Anglican, with Royalist or Parliamentary, but on the whole Howell’s thesis of a commercial imperative that drove economic and commercial connections, however uneasy, remains persuasive. It is significant to note that in this context Royalist Newcastle continued to trade coal to Parliamentary London until an embargo was enforced.

Perhaps significantly, both the construction of the houses of a notionally Puritan mercantile elite in Newcastle and the publication of Jenison’s sermons are broadly contemporary with the publication of Gray’s *Chorographia* in 1649. This work, in the chorographic tradition of historical and geographical writing, was a thinly veiled celebration of the Royalist cause as embodied in the structure of Newcastle (de Groot



2003, 68-9). Gray's work is a conscious echo of Lithgow's embodiment of the town as a source of rebellion and disloyalty, and seeks to link the town inextricably with the Royalist cause; every structure has a meaning and a didactic purpose that inexorably leads the reader back to the conclusion that the monarch was the only guarantor of stability and order (de Groot 2003, 68-70). Such writing had before been confined to the regional, the rural. Gray was the first to extend an older and explicitly monarchical genre onto the urban built fabric, which the Royalists had previously eschewed (de Groot 2003, 69). This is not to suggest that Gray's work had necessarily been read by Jenison, nor that it specifically inspired a godly backlash in structure. Rather, Gray's work reflected consciousness of the fact that the materiality of the town had become a new arena for conflict and competition. Narratives of order, rebellion and precedence could be found in all parts of the town, and it is tempting to see Jenison's sermons not only as a reflection of a wider cultural perception, but also as part of a localised struggle to claim the meaning of the town. Again, it is less the specific structures that demonstrate any cultural difference; what matters are the discourses of providential and civic order into which these structures were placed and through which they were understood by contemporaries.

### ***7.2.3 Urban Planning and the Limits of Uniformity***

Beyond Newcastle, the physical effects of reconstruction were often less subtle. Atkin and Howes (1993, 22) argued that reconstruction fundamentally changed the pattern of development in Gloucester:

*...the war had a profound effect on local topography in the... construction of new houses on Bearland ('New Street') in the south-west corner of the city... Clarence St, adjacent to the East Gate, probably originated as a lane running along the line of the backfilled 1646 defence ditch.*

Bearland was built on a different alignment to the earlier medieval suburbs that it replaced, in a clear variation from earlier building patterns within the town walls. Significantly, there was little further immediate reconstruction of the suburbs that had been cleared during the war (Atkin and Howes 1993, 27). Instead, the new development within the walls at Bearland took precedence (Atkin and Howe 1993, 27; Dorney 1653, 21). Similarly, the demolition of Bristol Castle started after the Restoration; work progressed through 1665 and 1666, and a new road, Castle Street, was laid out over the site (Russell 1995, 12, 32). In an example of straightforward reuse, houses within the Royal Fort at Bristol initially intended for use as 'pesthouses' were instead converted to gardens in 1673. Their walls still largely survived in 1801, and are clearly visible in mapping evidence into the 18<sup>th</sup> and possibly the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Russell 1995, 18-19).

These examples demonstrate the limitations of formal town planning; land ownership within towns appears to have remained fragmented, and Bearland and Castle Street stand out as exceptions where derelict land from either destruction or deliberate clearance allowed more extensive development to take place. Even in Graves' vision of the reformed elite of Newcastle, houses remained private and individual despite apparent cooperation between closely related members of the elite. Uniformity was thus a facade, in places veneered over older, more chaotic structures, as Graves herself notes (Graves 2009, 398-399). This reality can be read as an extended metaphor for the success of the merchant dynasties who occupied these houses after the Restoration with their often cultivated ambiguity of identity. In my view, these competing discourses of order are the key to understanding the true significance of the uniform frontages of the Commonwealth Quayside in the city of Newcastle. The wealth of exegetical writing that Graves draws on clearly shows that in Newcastle, the ordered facades were intended as statements, mnemonics, and guarantors of Godly order within the town. This focus on

order helps to demonstrate one strand of the cultural origins of the symmetrical uniformity that characterised the Georgian World View identified by Deetz and subsequently developed by others; a world view that was defined by its appearance in the colonial worlds of the (Protestant) English and Dutch (Hall 2000). It does not necessarily explain, however, why such order and uniformity were just as important to the Anglican architects of post-Great Fire London, nor indeed to the more comprehensively realised theatrical urban planning of Catholic Europe. As stated in the language of architectural history:

*On a purely personal level, we regard the setback sustained in the period by Venetian Classicism as an aesthetic disaster for this country. Cheap architecture is usually boring architecture. After 1660, Puritan Minimalism became Cavalier's Economical (Mowl and Earnshaw 1995, xiv).*

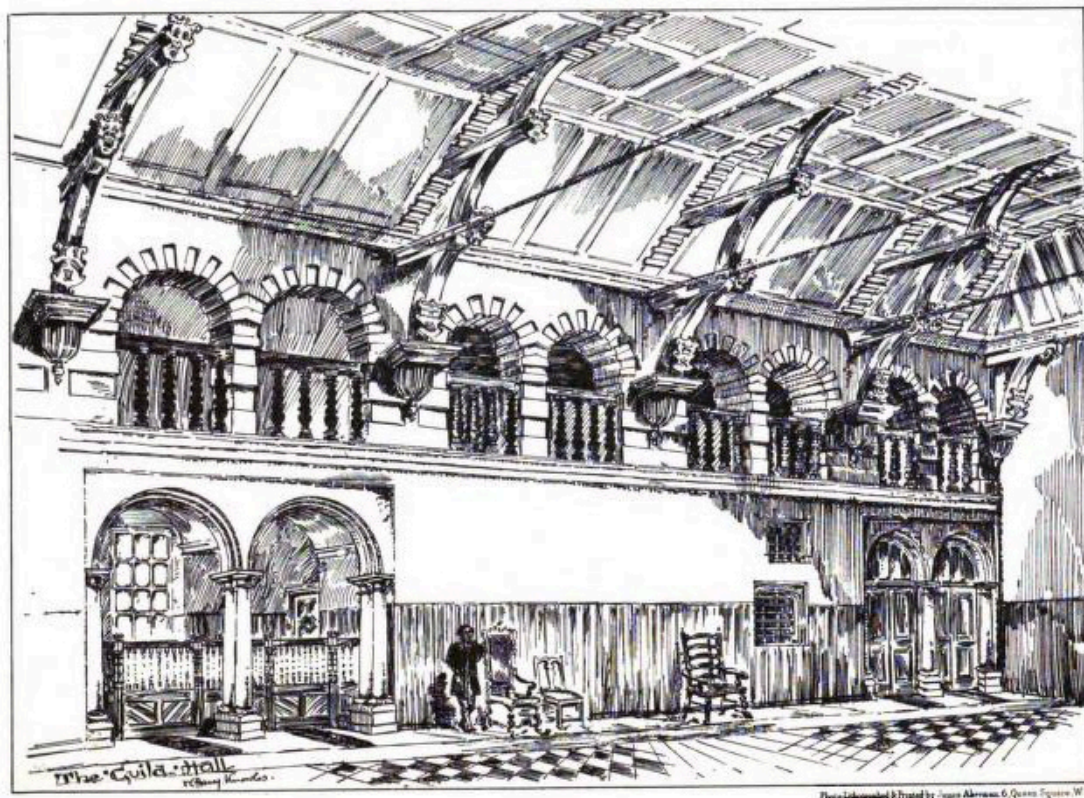
The physical structures behind these Newcastle facades were disjointed agglomerations of older houses (Heslop and Truman 1994; Heslop *et al.* 1995, Mabbitt 2006) and the uniformity of the facade may be illusory; at Bessie Surtees' House, evidence of a projecting bay that extended up the frontage of the house was found (Heslop *et al.* 1994), suggesting that the continuity of the facade was broken at one point at least. The meanings that were projected onto these uniform facades were multivalent; the meanings that inspired them were as complex as the tangle of buildings that lay behind them, shaped by centuries of tenurial history, cultural, functional and social needs.

#### **7.2.4 Civic Reconstruction**

The Protectorate was not a high point of civic reconstruction, but Newcastle saw a phase of extravagant public building; so extravagant indeed that contemporaries (Howell 1967, 297) saw the expenses of the construction of the new Guildhall as the cause of the town's financial woes in the years leading up to the Restoration. The York

surveyor and stonemason, Robert Trollop, was initially paid £10 for viewing the Town Court in 1654-5, and by the time that the work was complete had received over £9,774 for the construction of the Guildhall. The initial contract had been for £2,000 (Howell 1967, 296 fn. 7; Howell's account of the proceedings, though rather sketchy, is unlikely to be surpassed owing to the subsequent disappearance of the relevant Common Council Minutes and Chamberlain's Accounts). The Guildhall represented the ambitions of the common council and reflected the reality of their control of the local political world. Just as the town elites of Tudor England had focused on the construction of civic structures in a new vernacular of civic wealth and power that supplanted earlier expenditure of churches, chapels and chantries, so Newcastle's reformed elite sought to mark their dominance (Titler 1991). Again, the location was critical. The Guildhall was located at the North end of the Tyne Bridge, at the junctions of the Close and Sandhill; streets inhabited, as discussed above, by the wealthiest and most powerful of Newcastle's merchants (and in the case of the Close having private access to the river). It was adjacent to the Quayside, the public quay with direct access to deep water shipping. Reflecting the connection with the river and its trade, the Guildhall had a landing place (overlooked eventually by a statue of Charles II) and a balcony overlooking the river (Mackenzie 1827, 215). This location was not only important for the access to the quay and its proximity to the wealthiest inhabitants. This was a liminal location at the entrance to Newcastle from the South through which all land traffic from Gateshead and County Durham's land passed; in the context of the long-lasting struggle for control of the trade in Tyne (at this time largely Durham) coal, this location was critical. The architectural detail of the building was no less important, Doric columns were advised as

*...particularly appropriate for buildings for military or strong persons, ingens robur, who would act as leaders and guides in directing the populace in a good and correct life, and the robust simplicity of the order was a prominent theme in the design of the contemporary merchant houses (Graves 2009, 401, citing Onians 1988, pp. 236–237, 272–275).*



**Figure 7.3 The interior of the Newcastle Guildhall (Boyle 1890, f.p. 22)**

### **7.2.5 The Restoration and Beyond**

Despite the cost of the Guildhall, or possibly after a pause long enough for memories of the ruinous expense to fade, the common council was involved in further civic building. Holy Jesus Hospital was rebuilt in 1681 and subsequently incorporated in 1684, marking another significant step in the reconstruction of Newcastle's public buildings. Details of its construction are vague. Proposals for the erection of a new Mansion House were first discussed in 1683 and a site was bought on the waterfront south of the Close, and within 200m of the Guildhall (Fraser *et al.* 1995, 147), but work did not start until eight years later (Mackenzie 1827, 232). The total cost of the construction was £6,000 (Fraser *et al.* 1995, 147).







**Figure 7.5 The Keelmen's Hospital (Boyle 1890, f.p. 154)**

The last of the great civic buildings of 17<sup>th</sup>-century Newcastle could equally be described as the first of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Keelman's Hospital for the elderly, infirm or widowed was completed in 1700 at the cost of £2,000 (Collingwood Bruce 1863, 80). It was paid for by subscription of the keelmen who rowed the 'keels', or small boats used to transport coals and other cargoes to sea-going vessels.

### ***7.2.6 The English Urban Renaissance***

Post-war reconstruction was determined by the changing nature of English urban culture. It is no coincidence that Chalklin (1998) and Borsay (1989, 206) both saw the later-17<sup>th</sup> century as a cultural tipping point. Reconstruction was not necessarily a physical reconstruction of damage caused in the wars, though in many cases, as at Bearland, opportunities provided by military destruction were exploited. Reconstruction reflected a more fundamental change than a desire to get on with life. Focusing on the expanding role and increasing organisation of the Justices of the Peace, Chalklin (1998)

identified a range of structures that had either not been commonly built before the Revolution, or had been built on a very small scale. These included court houses and jails (Chalklin 1998, 1-3), reflecting an increasingly centralised justice system and the repair and maintenance of structures that had previously existed, such as bridges and highways. The scale of this construction, however, exceeded anything that could be seen as mere maintenance, and reflects an underlying cultural change. Architects, surveyors and clerks were increasingly engaged at public expense to ensure the efficient administration of complex building projects. The growing ambition of the state, at a local level as much as on a national scale, determined a particular strand of construction activity. The funding for this new construction work came primarily from what might now be recognised as local government sources. Much money could be raised through rates, or local taxation, but private donations were actively sought, and given either through briefs (a form of public appeal) or through private donations (Chalklin 1998, 7).

The churches too experienced a form of building boom. The official toleration of non-conformism led to the construction and conversion of a number of chapels and meeting houses, and almost in competition, the Church of England experienced a boom both in the quantity and the quality of church building, even setting aside the contribution of Wren to the reconstruction of London's Anglican churches. Again, these works could be funded by private donations, briefs and subscriptions, but in the case of the Anglican churches and particularly in London, the role of local government in generating funds through rates, and the provision of Parliamentary taxation, were crucial.

This enhanced role for the Justices of the Peace also enabled a further expansion in civic authority that required an expansion in civic building that has been largely overshadowed by the later expansion of such structures. Since Foucault's (1979)



exploration of the expression of civil authority in *Discipline and Punish*, the conception of the changing nature of the exercise of civil authority has been a central theme of historical archaeology. Writers including Lucas (1999), and Spencer-Wood (2001) have focused on the development of social and physical structures (such as jails and workhouses) intended to control the urban population, and this argument has been extended into the world of work in Palmer and Gwyn's (2007) *Understanding The Workplace*, and into the very form of the modern city by Graham (2010) in *Cities Under Siege*. Graham followed a similar discursive framework to Hirst (2005), to trace a 21<sup>st</sup>-century surveillance and control culture back to the decline of urban fortification and the rise in formal urban design of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Graham 2010, 13). The exercise of discipline through surveillance and structure has long been seen as a defining feature of the Enlightenment culture that Foucault and others regard as the origin of the modern.

This fundamental change in the cultural use of space and structure was not an entirely new development. Johnson (1993) linked changing structural traditions and the use of domestic space to identify the fundamental cultural shift which underlay the 'Great Rebuilding' This analysis placed many 'Georgian' conceptions firmly into what Deetz would have seen as a 'medieval' cultural discourse.

Borsay (1989) focused more on the creation of 'polite', or designed space in English towns during the later 17<sup>th</sup> century. This type of town planning was influenced by a number of considerations, but fundamentally aimed at influencing and shaping the lives of the town's inhabitants. The half-century following the Wars saw the beginnings of a trend towards increasing uniformity of regulation and design of the urban built fabric (Borsay 1989, 87). Borsay placed this movement after the Great Fire, and it is true that

earlier attempts to develop the uniform planned developments were relatively small, and often ultimately unsuccessful ventures. But the cultural perception of unity and order in urban planning and architecture was clearly present, if ultimately unrealised in developments at Sandhill and Bearland in the aftermath of the English Civil Wars, or even before, as at Covent Garden. Elsewhere, as at Warwick (Borsay 1989, 90), destructive fires provided a context for reconstruction in the style that was to become ubiquitous, and it is clear that the urban destruction at Gloucester, and possibly at Newcastle, provided a similar opportunity for rebuilding.

### **7.3 Colonial Construction**

#### ***7.3.1 The New World***

In contrast to this constrained approach to town planning, it is instructive to look to the contemporary colonies, where English towns were being built on what, to the colonists, was virgin ground. In this sense, it is perhaps not entirely surprising to see some of the developments that appear in England only after the Wars emerging at an earlier date; the practical constraints of land holding and customary use were not present. Understanding the ways in which land was divided and building regulated in these settlements provides not only a useful comparator to the English experience, but an opportunity to better understand the development of conceptions of what towns were, and how they should be planned and built. Jamestown, the capital of the Virginia colony at the time of the Wars, is best understood as an English town. In fact, it is this comparison that has led to the greatest differences in interpretations of the development of Jamestown; historically, the transition from earthfast structures to brick was viewed as the defining material expression of the development of the town from frontier outpost to settled capital. Noting the continuing transience of many of the Jamestown brick structures, however, Audrey Horning characterised this change in cultural terms. She suggested that brick

was the ‘appropriate’ material for urban building (Horning 1995, 214) and was used to demonstrate the aspirations of the Virginia Company (to the early 1620s), and subsequently the Governor to recreate an English town within the colony (Horning 1995, 244-5). The difficulty at Jamestown was less a matter of providing space for development than attracting and retaining potential residents and developers. The effects of the same spirit of speculation embodied by Bearlands and elsewhere in post-Restoration England is also visible at an earlier date in Jamestown; incentives to build new properties encouraged speculative development, whether driven by urban expansion in England, or by generous subsidies and incentives in Virginia (Horning 1995, 245).

The various maps of Ireland made in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries are also instructive here. Klein (2001, 62) notes the conceptual leap in the meaning of the cartography of Ireland during the Elizabethan plantations in the wake of Shane O’Neill’s rising/rebellion, and charts the parallels between textual descriptions of Irish and English-held land with their depiction on maps (Klein 2001, 64). The celebrated Raven Maps of the Ulster plantation show settlers’ houses as black and white ‘cagework’ or stone houses, contrasting with the cottages of the native Irish. The settlers’ houses are often shown in their own defined plots (Horning 2006). Leaving aside questions of the exact relationship between depiction and reality within the Raven maps, the central theme of cultural differentiation is important - these maps are an attempt to demonstrate the solidity and permanence of the plantation settlement through their adoption of long-standing and definably ‘English’ structural traditions (Horning 2006, 2007b).

One striking difference, or absence of such difference, relates to fortification. The principal towns of the Ulster Plantation had been fortified on lines typical of English

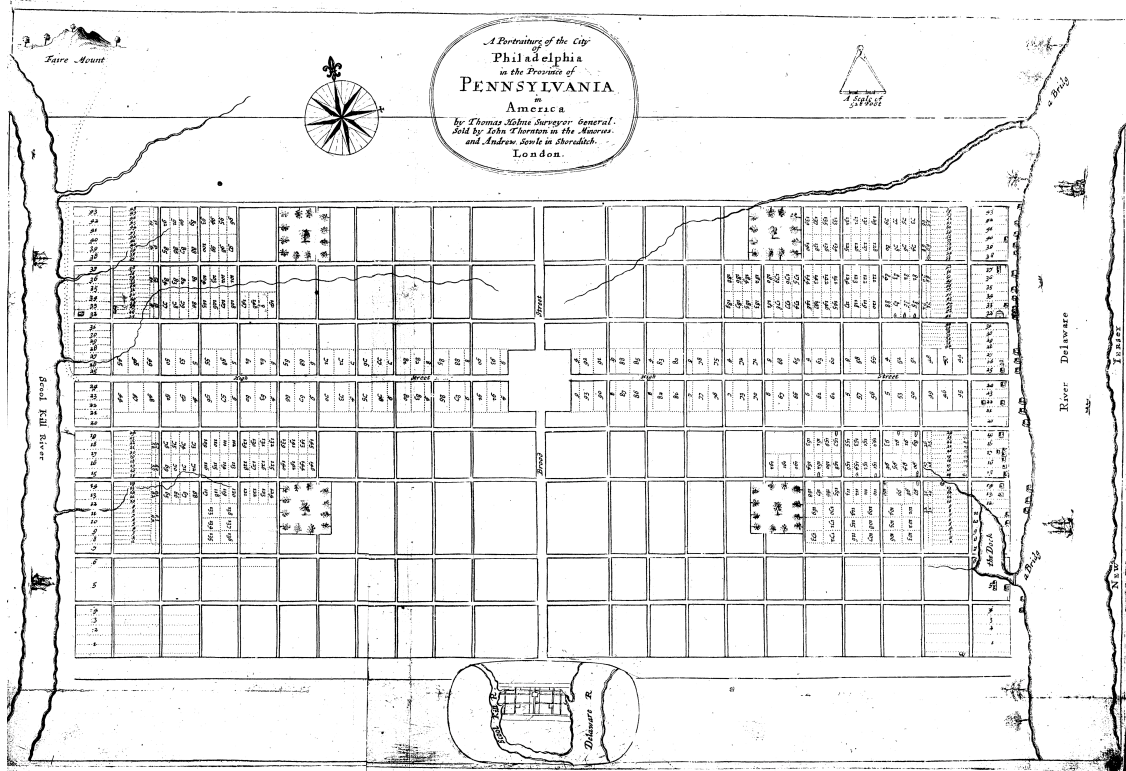
and Anglo-Irish medieval towns. Londonderry and Coleraine were surrounded by walls built and maintained by the undertakers, the shareholders in the commercial enterprise of the Plantation. These walls were notionally built on 'modern' bastioned plans, but in appearance and function were closer to the medieval walls of English towns. After the Ulster Plantation, few new towns were planted.

In the New World, impediments of land ownership and precedence could sometimes be avoided. British colonial towns, and indeed those of the French and the Dutch in North America tended to follow one of two basic layouts, either irregular and haphazard, or planned on a fairly rigid grid plan (Miller 1988, 58). Significantly, these towns were not enclosed by continuous fortifications. The presence of a tenurial blank sheet was more important than any sense of building in a hostile environment. The grid-iron street pattern of Philadelphia, laid out in 1683 by Thomas Holme for William Penn (O'Keeffe and Yamin 2007, 100), is a clear example of the planned grid, and it appears likely that Jamestown had a similar layout. These layouts afforded the practical advantages of simplicity in survey and relatively even distribution of land; state legislation from Virginia suggests that the grid plan was prescribed as a form for wholly new settlements (Miller 1988, 58). Irregular plan forms, such as Bridgetown, Barbados (Welch 2005, 15) appear to have developed as a result of the organic growth of smaller settlements, and are less frequently observed, contrasting with the tensions apparent in the attempted construction of an ordered city at Jamestown (Horning 1995, 244-5).

The ability to plan new development is also evidenced in two of the most ambitious urban experiments of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. St Mary's City, the first capital of Maryland, was replanned in around 1666 on Baroque principles (Miller 1988, 67). Miller's admittedly conjectural reconstruction of the town's plan form suggests a symmetrical urban design,

with streets converging on the established town centre, contrasting with the more common grid system in use elsewhere (Miller 1988, 65-6). The street plans of Annapolis and Williamsburg were laid out on the same type of plan form approximately 30 years earlier (O’Keeffe and Yamin 2007, 94). Miller posed himself the rhetorical question of why this particular form of urban planning was to be found in the Chesapeake, and nowhere else in colonial north America, noting in respect of St Mary’s City, the Catholicism of Lord Baltimore and the inhabitants of St Mary’s City, and the inspiration provided by the planned reconstruction of London after the Great Fire (Miller 1988, 67-9). The Chesapeake was notable for the relative absence of any Puritan origins; the representation of divine and secular order in structure was just as important to Anglican and Catholic settlers as to their Puritan counterparts further north in New England. In a particularly resonant passage, Miller argued that the physical separation of State House and Catholic church symbolised the separation of church and state in the Maryland in which Catholicism was no bar to state office (Miller 1988, 69). However, these arguments could not sustain the use of the same Baroque urban design principals at the predominantly Anglican Annapolis and Williamsburg, instituted after the Test Act was enforced by Governor Nicholas after 1693. Miller fell back on the different nature of Maryland’s economic and social structure; towns here, he argued were not centres of population: the dispersed settlement pattern of the Chesapeake and the nature of the tobacco farms meant that towns could not be economically self-sufficient. Towns here were administrative centres and sites of Royal authority. In this situation, the distribution of land was not a significant issue; the need to demonstrate and reinforce the existing social order was a prime concern (Miller 1988, 69-70). The concept of the baroque city as a ‘setting and celebration of authority - secular, spiritual and

cultural' (Fries 1977, 119) was so powerful that the street plan of Washington DC, laid out in 1791, followed the same basic design principles.



**Figure 7.6 Penn's plan of Philadelphia from Holme 1683**

The conception of order realised through structure was not, however, a feature confined to the Chesapeake. The irony that the Puritans of New England avoided place names that suggested that they were in any way sacred, but set out their towns following biblical accounts of the temple of Solomon has been noted and repeated (Hamilton and Spicer 2005a, 21, citing Archer 1975). Philadelphia was no stronghold of the Anglican English.

Order could be brought to older colonial towns. Bridgetown in Barbados was focused on a street running parallel to the shore (Cheapside/Broad Street), with merchants houses built on the sides of alleys running both inland and towards the sea (Welch 2005,

15). This street pattern was laid out before 1640, supposedly by James Swan, although perhaps significantly, the streets were not named until 1657 (Stoner and Brinegar 2005, 98), and street plans give the impression of organic and irregular growth rather than carefully controlled development. Early textual descriptions of Bridgetown do not give the impression of a carefully planned town; Antoine Biet described 300-400 buildings, primarily warehouses, inns, shops and taverns (Stoner and Brinegar 2005, 96), while Richard Ligon, author of the first history of Barbados described the town as,

*...so ill situate for if they had considered health, as they did convenience, they would never have set it there... But one house being set up, another was erected, and so a third, and a fourth, till at last it came to take the name of a town: diverse storehouses being there built to stow their goods in for their convenience, being near the harbour...* (Ligon 1657 quoted in Fraser 2005, 82)

Plans of the town are reminiscent of the English medieval riverfront towns, with waterfront properties built out into the bay from the original streets as urban space, always at a premium, became scarce.

Later manuscript descriptions of the town as having ‘many fair, long and spacious streets, furnish’d with a great number of noble Structures...’ or ‘many Costly and Stately Houses’ (Stoner and Brinegar 2005, 96) contrast with these earlier depictions. This may be at least in part due to the institution of increasingly strict regulation of construction after the major fire of 1659, which destroyed 200 houses, or that of 1668, which destroyed 800 houses, or an estimated 80% of the town’s building stock. By the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, building in brick or stone was mandatory, and a print of 1695 shows the town comprising large gabled stone houses (Fraser 2005, 84). It is easy to see the increasing cultural significance of order and solidity reflected in the rebuilt Bridgetown of the late-17<sup>th</sup> century.

### ***7.3.2 Wider Parallels***

To return to the original point, what is striking here is that the material expression of the underlying discourse, of uniformity of structure reflecting both worldly and godly order and promoting right living remained the same, whether in Puritan Republican Newcastle or Anglican Restoration London and Warwick. These discourse can also be seen at work, and probably more explicitly so, in Renaissance Rome (Ditchfield 2005) or the Absolutist Catholic France of Louis XIV as well as the colonial cities of the New World, whether British or Spanish (O’Keefe and Yamin 2007). It is also easy to see the relationship between this emphasis on the materiality of intangible conceptions of order and the development of the ‘improved’ and ‘disciplined’ society as expressed in the more celebrated examples of 18<sup>th</sup>-century urban planning, as at Annapolis (Potter 1994) or Capetown (Hall 2000). Often the architecture that survives belongs to this later period, but the planning and underlying discourses are firmly rooted at least a century earlier.

## **7.4 Military Reconstruction: The End of the Medieval Town?**

### ***7.4.1 The Citadels***

During the Commonwealth, there appears to have been little centrally controlled refortification. It seems that previously existing fortified sites were reoccupied, but generally, the trend seems to have been towards ‘degarrisoning’, with the Protectorate acknowledging popular concerns for the presence of garrisons and the practical difficulties of paying and supplying soldiers. ‘Reformadoes’, or bands of discharged officers were a notable presence within the many Royalist groupings that were involved in the uprisings of 1648 and 1651. Significant here are the fortifications that the Commonwealth built within Scotland. Besides repairing and refurbishing a number of



existing castles and garrisons, the English military government of Scotland, led by General Monck, built four citadels. These were fortifications on a scale not seen before (Tait 1965). Conceptually, the idea of a large fortification outside an existing settlement, and designed to be the focus of a centralised authority, was not new. Similar arrangements had been common *de facto* schemes in the Civil War, most clearly at Nottingham and Scarborough, where the military authorities took refuge in the castle, leaving an at best ambivalent town undefended. King Charles had supposedly planned to refurbish Exeter Castle to create such a citadel in the 1620s (Stoyle 1996, 27), an event which had led the town's reformed leader to appeal to the example of Antwerp, where the Spanish forced the town to pay for a citadel that was then used to control, and eventually to wage war on, the adjoining town. This precedent may help to explain why no similar citadels were built in England during the Commonwealth. The presence of a nearby garrison may have had the same effect, though the continuing importance of local levies of troops could have clouded the picture. The four Scottish citadels, at Leith, Ayr, St Johnston (Perth) and Inverness were started between 1652 and 1654 as part of a much wider chain of garrisons and forts, some of which, as at Inverlochy and Loch Ness, were similarly built on the modern bastioned trace, while others were adaptations of existing fortifications (Tait 1965, 11-12). Details of the construction of the new citadels are scant. They were built on a bastioned trace, contemporary plans of Inverness Citadel showing both a pentagonal plan, and at Ayr a hexagon (Tait 1965, 22-3). The ramparts appear to have been earthworks, but contemporaries were at greater pains to describe the interiors. The Minister of Kirkhill's description of Inverness could be taken for those of any of the citadels:

*In the centre of the citadel stood a great four square building, all hewn stone, called the magazine or granary. In the third storey*

*was the church, well furnished with a stately pulpit and seats, a wide bartizan at top, and a brave clock with four gilded dials and a curious ball... South east stood the great English building, four stories high, so called being built by English Masons, and South west the Scottish building of the same dimensions, built by Scottish Masons. (Carruthers 1843, 99)*

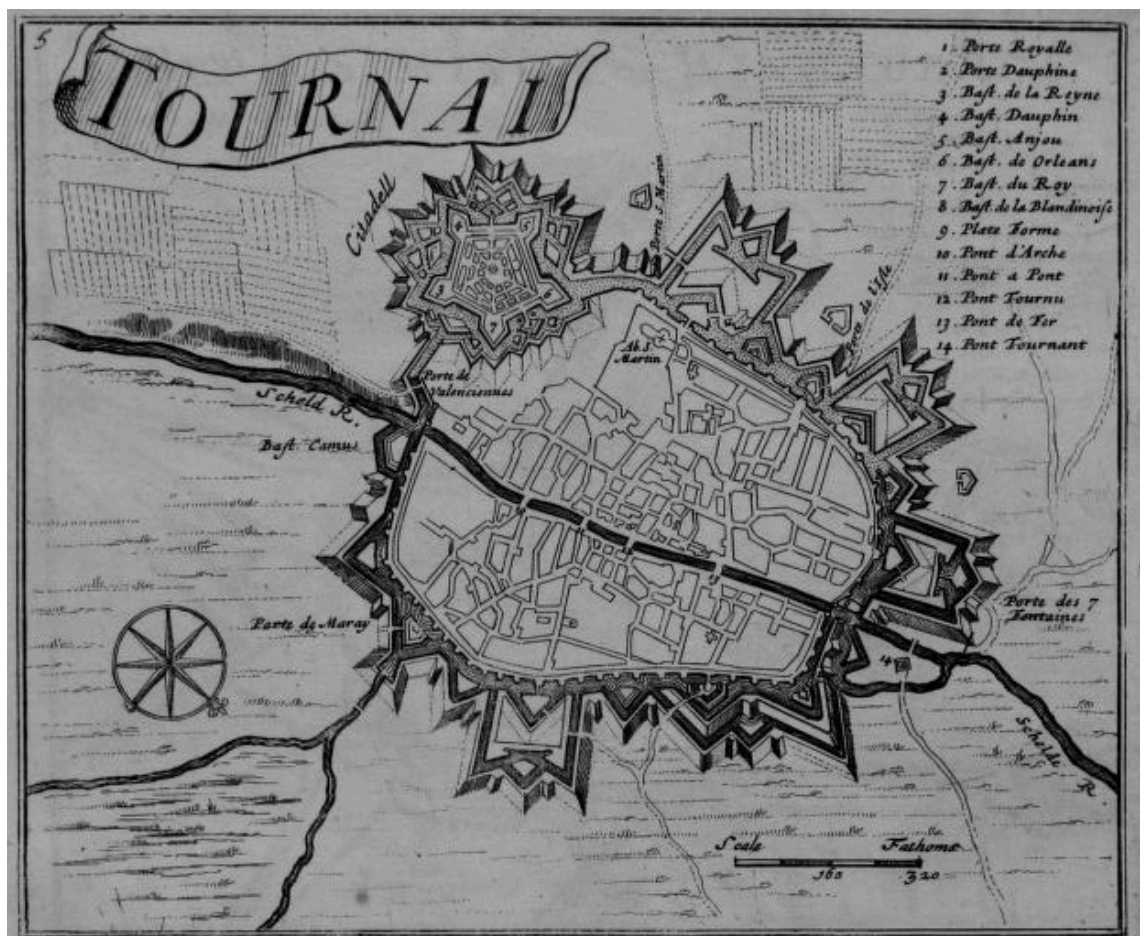
The presence of tall and substantial, stone buildings, including a church is common to descriptions of the Citadels. Tait (1965, 13) remarked on the similarities between the Kirk at Ayr, begun in 1652, and that of the citadel church. The planned internal layout of both Ayr and Inverness appears to have taken a regular concentric layout (Tait 1965, 22-4), although Leith was much more irregular, and detail of its internal layout is not clear. Descriptions of Leith Citadel refer once again to a chapel, a piazza, and ‘well-built houses’ (Tait 1965, 15). The scale and ambition of these citadels is well beyond anything built in England at the time, although Cromwell’s unrealised plans for a citadel built from the fabric of Gloucester Cathedral (Welander 1991, 372) may have been similar in intention. The ideological message of the reuse of the fabric of the Cathedral would have presented a substantial and unavoidable message about the changed structure of power under the Protectorate, which may also go some way to explaining why the project remained unrealised.

#### **7.4.2 The Colonial Context**

What is significant above is the use of a deliberately visible and permanent statement of military authority. This was preceded on the continent, ominously for the Protestant English and Scots in the bloody, contested and Catholic Spanish rule in the Dutch provinces. These works were also more frequently used in a colonial context. Despite the formal rhetoric that Scotland and England were one Commonwealth, the intention of the Protectorate’s military government was of imperial rule; not without reason given the Scottish involvement in the pro-Royalist revolts of 1648 and 1651, (and, with the

benefit of hindsight in Monck's reliance on the Scottish armies to support the Restoration). Ironically, it was Monck's stated aim for the Citadel at Leith that:

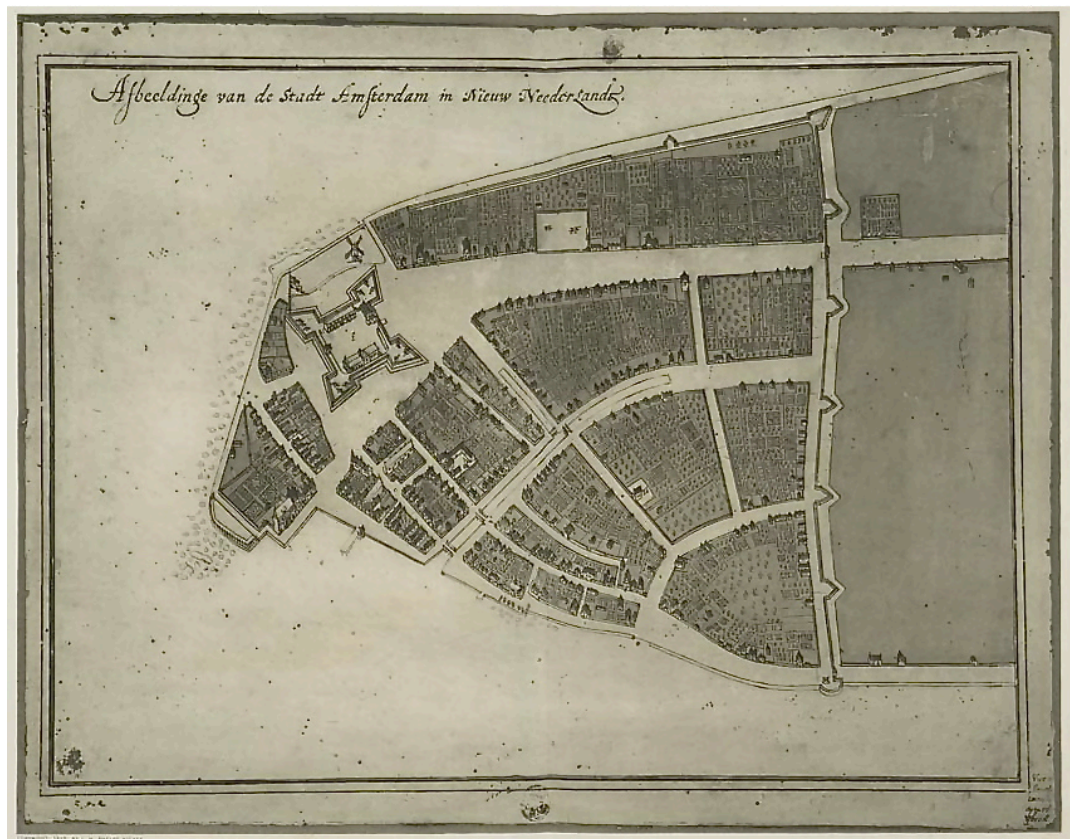
*...this work will be more advantageous to you [i.e. Cromwell] than all the rest in Scotland, when itt is once finished, being itt will keep in awe the chief city of this nation (Birch 1742, 79).*



**Figure 7.7 Plan of Tournai, showing the Citadel, built in 1674 after the fall of the city to the French (Boyer 1701).**

The supposed imperial ambitions of Cromwell were discussed by contemporaries as a deliberate slur, comparing Cromwell to Augustus (Armitage 1992, 532). These comments, however, reflected Cromwell's revival of Stuart claims to control of the North Sea and the American colonies that saw a substantially increased level of activity in the protection of existing colonies, the acquisition of new territory and the

consolidation of trade links between England and its New World colonies (Armitage 1992, 535-8). It is fundamentally important to note that at the same time as the citadels were under construction in Scotland, and as Cromwell's bloody campaigns in Ireland were coming to a conclusion, an English fleet set sail for Hispaniola, an expedition that led to the conquest of Jamaica and the construction of Fort Cromwell (later Fort Charles) at Port Royal, Jamaica (Taylor 1965, 131). These works also echo the Dutch fortifications at New Amsterdam and at Capetown; where a bastioned fort was placed as a centre of military power and seat of imperial government at a remove from the associated civilian settlement (Hall 2000, 27-8). These works were by no means restricted to the Protestant Dutch and English colonists. Quebec, a colony of the Catholic French was also protected by a citadel at Saint-Louis (Cloutier and L'Anglais 2009, 106). The civilian importance of the fort at Saint-Louis was increasingly emphasised in its external appearance rather than its military function, and ever more elaborate chateaux were constructed for the use of the governor (Cloutier and L'Anglais 2009, 118). It is necessary to place the Protectorate citadels of Scotland firmly within this imperial context. Significantly, the experiment of the colonial walled towns of Coleraine and Londonderry (Thomas 1999) were not repeated elsewhere in the British Empire.



**Figure 7.8 Castello Plan of New Amsterdam (1660) (Cortelyou, Jacques, "Afbeeldinge van de Stadt Amsterdā in Nieuw Nederlandt," in CU Libraries Exhibitions , Item #3508, [https://ldpd.lamp.columbia.edu/omeka/exhibits/show/stokes/vol\\_2/item/3508](https://ldpd.lamp.columbia.edu/omeka/exhibits/show/stokes/vol_2/item/3508) (accessed June 4, 2012))**

In Barbados, two substantial citadels were built near Bridgetown, the most important town of the colony. At 3,000, the population of Bridgetown at this time (1680) was comparable to that of the larger northern American towns (Welch 2005, 6). The context of the construction of the defences of Bridgetown is important, following the Cromwellian ‘invasion’ of 1651 (Loftfield 2001, 212). These were built on a more modest scale to the Protectorate citadels in Scotland, but even so were clearly conceived according to orthodox military doctrine. Whether they were deliberately built with the aim of keeping order is uncertain. Loftfield (2001, 211) identified an informal, but settled truce between Parliamentarians and Royalists, even after 1651: this was the ‘Treaty of Turkey and Roast Pork’, by which mentioning the term ‘Roundhead’ or ‘Cavalier’ was punishable by a fine of a meal in kind at the offender’s house (Hoyos 1978, 26). However, local perceptions of these new citadels are instructive.

Willoughby's request for 1000 troops to man the defences in time of war was rejected by the colonists. At the same time, the Trained Band of the island was very substantial, with a peak membership of over 10,000 during the Dutch Wars which took place shortly after the Restoration. This membership fell to just over 6,000 in the latter part of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, mirroring a decline in the white population of the island (Loftfield 2001, 212). These large forts were maintained by the Crown, Needham Fort being renamed Charles Fort (Loftfield 2001, 212), and were pivotal in the defeat of the attempted Dutch invasion of 1665 (Loftfield 2001, 214). Just as importantly, however, the Trained Band built and maintained a number of smaller fortifications around the island. These structures were not obviously influenced by the extensive contemporary literature on fortification, and have been characterised as 'truly vernacular', reflecting local political and social realities and not following any coherent tactical scheme (Loftfield 2001, 219). Loftfield presents these fortifications as the architectural embodiment of a new and specifically Barbadian cultural tradition. Yet it is easy to see the same local concerns influencing the construction of these fortifications as were present in the reaction of English urban communities to the outbreak of the English Civil War.

#### ***7.4.3 After the Restoration***

The Scottish citadels appear to have remained incomplete at the Restoration, and were subsequently demolished and left to decay over the course of the following century. The destruction of these imperial edifices was a very deliberate act of the Restoration settlement (Tait 1965, 15). They were clear prototypes for the citadels subsequently built at a number of English towns, however. In this way, the meaning of these structures changed, but the vernacular through which power was expressed remained constant.

In this respect, it at first appears that the Restoration monarchy adopted a very sporadic and often inconsistent policy towards construction of new fortifications. The first of the major works was Plymouth Royal Citadel, which began in 1665. This structure was ostensibly intended to protect the dockyards and the sea approaches to the port, and it formed the most important point in a larger group of other fortifications (Tomlinson 1973, 6). To locals, however, and even to those with short memories, the citadel represented a potent symbol of the mistrust between the King and his rebellious subjects in the south-west (Stoyle 1998, 27). Plymouth had survived three sieges by the Royalists, and the presence of a citadel was widely taken as an attempt to re-establish royal authority over the town.

Much the same can be said of the later construction of the Citadel at Hull. Again, Hull had presented strong resistance to the monarchy, being the town whose rising against Charles had been the formal trigger of the English Civil War. Hull had also survived a siege by the Royalists. Here, the fortifications of the citadel that faced the town were the first part of the citadel to be built, the seaward defences taking a further nine years to complete (Foreman and Goodhand 1997, 143-7). The royal warrant for the construction specifically alluded to official suspicions about the town's allegiances:

*...when the misguided multitude are so much disposed to mischief  
and the malice of disloyal and ambitious persons so mysterious  
contriving the disturbance of His Majesty's Government*  
(Foreman and Goodhand 1997, 147).

Through the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the principal military threat was consistently from Holland. The South and East coasts saw the majority of the expenditure on fortification, but often these works lagged well behind the existence of any threat. While the fort at Sheerness had been commenced when the Dutch landed on

the Medway and raided Kent, further defensive works appear to have been temporary, and Chatham was still undefended in the early-18<sup>th</sup> century (Tomlinson 1973, 9).

Tilbury Fort was (re)built on the site of a fort built during the Protectorate to guard the North bank of the Thames, though the Kent side was again defended only by temporary works (Tomlinson 1973, 10). Efforts to enhance the fortifications of the East coast appear to have been token at best. There were no major works between Tilbury and Harwich (50 miles), Harwich and Hull (120 miles), Hull and Tynemouth (120 miles), Tynemouth and Berwick/Holy Island (50 miles) or Berwick and Edinburgh (50 miles: Tomlinson 1973, 8). It seems as though defence of the East coast against the Dutch was neglected in favour of promoting the security of the monarch within the nation, and defending the South coast ports of Portsmouth and Plymouth.

The appearance of these Royal citadels was just as important as those of the Protectorate regime in Scotland, if not more so. Each of the citadels was built with a spectacular baroque gatehouse, featuring the Royal arms; there was to be no ambiguity over the source of military power. These gateways survive at Tilbury and at Plymouth, and it appears that De Gomme himself was the architect at Plymouth (Saunders 1996, 292). A similar gateway was described in de Gomme's projected plan for a Citadel at Dublin, 'In one of ye Curtaines there is to be made a stone Gate the front to be in Portland stone in the same form as at Plymouth which will cost £420' and De Gomme's assistant, Thomas Phillips, included a similar gate in his design for a fort at Ringcurran, Kinsale (Saunders 1996, 292).





**Figure 7.9 Tilbury Fort gatehouse. Compare with figure 2.1 (Danny McL: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/dmcl/433720241/>)**

#### **7.4.4 Imperialism and Structure**

The explicitly monarchical and imperial style of the citadels is significant. It is clear that the Restoration monarchy, like Cromwell, was projecting its power through military display. The difference lay in where that display was aimed. The Protectorate Citadels were instruments of colonial domination, designed to overawe and control a subject population, and so too were the Restoration Citadels. This projection of power, however, was not the only intention of these fortifications. The link to the sea was functional in as much as the principal military threat eventually arose from Britain's neighbours and imperial rivals in France, Spain and the Netherlands, and these works

were fundamental in recasting Britain as a seafaring, imperial power. The direct identification of the Crown with these aspirations to imperial power was a fundamental change from what had gone before; a new material culture of royal ambition was developing.

To sum up my argument thus far, there appears to have been a very specific change in the methods and aims of fortification after the end of the Wars, and particularly after the Restoration. What seems to have ended with the Restoration was the involvement of the urban civic elites with the military provision within their own towns. While town defences were (hastily) repaired during the Second Civil War of 1648 and the abortive campaigns of 1651, there was a general movement away from the construction of urban fortifications that encircled and protected towns. Indeed, after the Restoration, it appears to have only been the border towns of Carlisle, Berwick and Newcastle that were ever fortified as corporate entities, and then only in response to very specific threats of Scottish attack in 1715 and 1745. Berwick is particularly anomalous for the sheer scale of its walls and the size of the barracks within the walled town, meaning that in many ways it may be better seen as a fortress with an attached settlement than a walled town. Importantly, Berwick's fortifications were funded and maintained by the Crown, rather than the Corporation, and the fortifications themselves effectively remained unchanged after the Revolution until they were finally abandoned. Berwick upon Tweed is particularly important; in development of permanent garrisons in England, Berwick may be best seen (in military terms at least, and as late as the early-19<sup>th</sup> century) as a military citadel rather than a town.

## 7.5 The Materiality of Monarchy

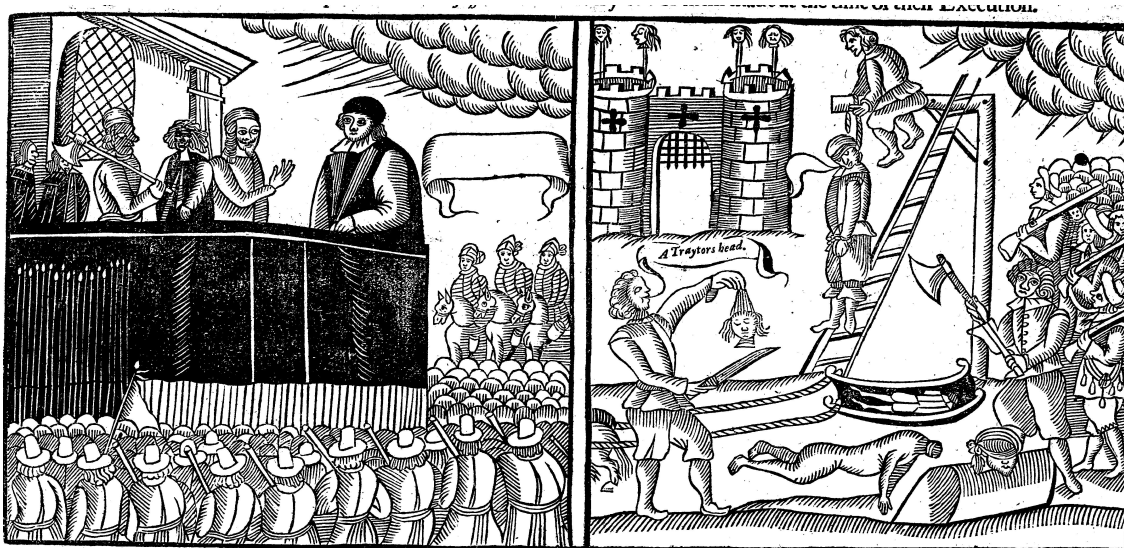
### 7.5.1 Charing Cross

From Wren and Evelyn's grand designs and unrealised ambitions to the messy, ad hoc, compromised, but genuinely new reality of what was rebuilt, post-Fire London has offered fertile ground to historians and architectural historians seeking to understand the culture of the Restoration capital. Post-Fire London ushered in a new era of building control and regulation. Theatrical and geometric town planning took place on a scale not seen before in England and a new vernacular urban architecture was born of the enforced use of construction methods that were less susceptible to fire. Another, more important, factor influenced the reconstruction of London; one linked to the hold of the city on the cultural imagination. The re-imagining of London as the Royal capital was at the heart of the image-making of the Restoration Monarchy.



Figure 7.10 The Charing and Cheapside Crosses in 1641 (Peacham 1641).

Amongst the opportunities taken was the re-use of the site of the Charing Cross. The Charing Cross was the twelfth and most extravagant of the memorial crosses marking the processional route taken by the cortege of Eleanor of Aquitaine, Queen of Edward I, and stood from around 1294 until its demolition. In 1643, the demolition of all crosses was ordered by Parliament, and along with the related Cheapside Cross, the Charing Cross was destroyed. The extent of the demolition is unclear; later documentary records suggest that elements of the base of the cross survived through the 1650s and had to be removed when the site was cleared for reuse; it was used briefly for the sale of fish to raise funds for the poor of the parish before a dispute over ownership between the churchwardens of St Martin's and the Trustees of the Lands of Westminster Abbey was settled, and the site was then made level and railed off (Gater and Wheeler 1935, 258-268).



**Figure 7.11 Hubris: the execution of Charles I at the Banqueting House, Whitehall and the quartering of the regicides (Thomason 247: 669.f.26[31])**

At the Restoration, the site was used for a stand of 600 pikes, belonging to "knights and gentlemen, as had been officers of the armies of his late Majesty of blessed memory; the truly noble and valiant Sir John Stowell, knight of the honourable order of the Bath, a person famous for his eminent actions and sufferings, being in the head of them" (Gater

and Wheeler 1935, 258-268 fn. 22). The link to the Royalist cause was reestablished publicly and explicitly. A few months later in October, it was the place of execution for seven of the Regicides before reverting to its previous use as a space let by the parish for public amusements (Gater and Wheeler 1935, 258-268). This reclamation, albeit short-lived, of the site of a Royal monument, demolished for its Catholic and monarchical symbolism, was made all the more striking by the juxtaposition of the executions of the Regicides at the opposite end of Whitehall to the Banqueting House, where Charles I had been executed 11 years before. This use of the space as a place of punishment and deterrence was perpetuated through the later 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries by the placement of the pillory at the site (Gater and Wheeler 1935, 258-268).

Even so, the Royal associations of the site might have been lost to all but antiquarians, but for the erection of the equestrian statue of King Charles I that still stands at the spot, now the centre of the roundabout where Whitehall meets Trafalgar Square.

The statue was not new; it has been commissioned in 1630 from Le Sueur, a French sculptor who had undertaken work for the Royal family, amongst others. The statue of Charles was commissioned by Lord Weston, High Treasurer, to stand in the gardens of his house at Roehampton (Gater and Wheeler 1935, 258-268).



**Figure 7.12 The statue of Charles I at Charing Cross (Courtesy David Fisher, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/dfisher81/4546650706/>)**

Its subsequent history is unclear. As part of the Roehampton Estate, the statue came into the hands of Sir Robert Dawes, whose property was sequestered for delinquency in 1644. The statue was bought soon afterwards for £150 and removed to the churchyard of St Paul, Covent Garden. The ownership of the statue during the English Civil Wars and Protectorate is understandably confused, but the statue survived despite the Commissioners' for Sequestrations and Parliament's knowledge of its existence and during the English Civil Wars it appears to have come into the possession of a brazier by the name of Rivett (or Rivers), who was charged with its destruction. He is said to have produced scraps of brass to prove his diligence, but the statue survived and was

‘discovered’ by the Earl of Portland, who secured a writ from the House of Lords for its recovery from Rivet in 1660 (Shepherd 1970, 98-128).

Again, the exact circumstances of the statue remain elusive until the 1675 Royal order to set up the statue at Charing Cross. It thus appears to have been curated until an opportune moment to re-erect it arose. The Treasurer’s warrant allowed for the costs of £681 9s 1 1/2d for the repair of the statue, its erection on a newly carved plinth and the railing off of the surrounding area (Gater and Wheeler 1935, 258-268).

The context of the re-erection of the statue is fundamental. It occurred in the midst of the reconstruction of the city of London, and the remodelling of the old city and its suburbs to fit new conceptions of the function and form of the urban built environment. This was also a time at which the tensions inherent in the Restoration settlement were close to the surface. An air of religious, political and dynastic tension, resulting from Charles’ religious policies and the fear of war with France, was the context for the dynastic marriage of the King’s niece, Mary, to William of Orange. Chiding reminders of the hitherto neglected legacy of Charles I appeared in Sandford’s *Genealogical History of the Kings of England* in 1677 and a vote took place in Parliament in the following year for the construction of a Mausoleum, designed by Wren but never built, for the Stuart dynasty (Beddard 1984, 37-9). It was not that the legacy of Charles I had been neglected in intellectual or even hagiographic terms; the martyr cult of Charles I had grown up in the years immediately after his execution. *Eikon Basilike*, a book claiming to be a collection of Charles meditations on the events that brought him to the scaffold, was first published shortly after his execution, but had apparently been circulating in manuscript at the time of the execution (Lacey 2003, 78). In 1661, the anniversary of the execution (30<sup>th</sup> January) was established by statute as a fast day.

Sermons were preached on the theme of Charles' martyrdom, and the day was adopted in the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1662 (Lacey 2003, 130). Significantly, however, this remained a literate, theological and political cult. Despite early stories of the healing powers of handkerchiefs dipped in the martyr's blood, and the power of William Marshall's allegorical frontispiece to *Eikon Basilike*, however, relics and images of the King were never popularised (Lacey 2003, 130); it was not until the 1670s, at a time when the divisions exposed by the Popish plot and new fears of rebellion were at their height that the material commemoration of Charles I began, at Charing Cross.

The place was also apposite. The statue is not recorded as having been on view in any Royal property, and was not erected in the most obvious location; the centre of Inigo Jones' magnificent piazza at Covent Garden. The Earl of Bedford had promised to erect a brass statue of Charles here, but a rather sorry tree stood in its place until 1666-7 (Shepherd 1970, 77-80). Instead, in choosing the Charing Cross, a potent site of memory was exploited. Charing Cross had a long association with the commemoration of Royalty, in a society where precedent and order were fundamental to the legitimacy of authority. More important still was the new context that was created. Before the English Civil War, the spatial division of the capital had been conditioned by the presence of the Royal City of Westminster and the separate city of London. This division had been starkest in the earliest clashes in Parliament, with the fear, on both sides, of the use of the London militias to support a coup, and had been glossed over the course of the English Civil Wars, with the departure of the court to Oxford, the continued presence of Parliament at Westminster and the consistent support of the City of London and its civic authorities for Parliament. This support was never unconditional and could, as in 1647, when the New Model Army marched on the capital, be threatened, but London and its wealth remained at the core of the Parliamentary regime.



Charing Cross, significantly, was outside the old walls of London, but its location was at the centre of a whole new administrative and Royal centre. After Wolsey's fall, Henry VIII had established a palace at Whitehall, but it was James I and Charles who developed the palace into a truly magnificent Royal centre, commissioning Rubens to create decorative paintings for Jones' Banqueting House (Cox and Norman 1930, 10-40). As part of a wider phase of construction of buildings in the new geometric and classical style, the Banqueting House marked a conscious attempt to place the English monarchy into an artistic and cultural tradition of Royal display that was more akin to the absolutist, Catholic, monarchs of France and Spain, with Greenwich palace the Royal counterpart to Jones' civic masterpiece at Covent Garden, and Wren's never-completed Royal complex at Winchester a direct echo of Louis XIV's palace village at Versailles (Borsay 1989, 89-90). Beyond these allusions to Royal authority, as the place of Charles' execution, the Banqueting House remained a powerful site of memory.

In addition, the evolving Restoration settlement demanded a permanent civil service to manage government, the navy and the army, and the home for these was Whitehall. It is not clear how quickly Charing Cross became the point from which distances to 'London' were taken, but even this concept presupposes the existence of a centralised culture of government, within which such mensuration became important. Standing at the heart of this new centre, facing down Whitehall to the new centre of government, was Charles I. The re-establishment of the Stuart royal centre at Whitehall draws on a number of themes; the martyr-cult of Charles I, the increasingly pervasive imagery of royalty and government, new concepts of urban planning and architecture and new modes of urban self-representation. It is this combination of themes that lies behind the cultural phenomenon of the Revolution. What was created was something genuinely new, but shaped by cultural processes that were deeply rooted.

## **7.6 Ecclesiastical Reconstruction**

### **7.6.1 *England's Cathedrals***

The implicit link between Royalism and ecclesiastical (specifically Episcopal) authority in the Restoration settlement is also significant. Cathedrals were particularly important within urban society before, during and after the Revolution, not only because they represented sacred space, but because of the tensions that surrounded the relationship between secular authority represented by the mayor and common council, and the religious authorities in the form of the Bishop, Dean and Chapter. Before, during and after the revolution, these sacred spaces were also contested spaces. The nature of the conflicts played out in these spaces changed as the cultural and political context changed, but they remained spaces where the interplay of power, politics and belief was enacted. These spaces, however, were more than just theatres for ritualised action; they lay physically and meaningfully at the centre of urban culture. Just as a cathedral and its close occupied a central position within a town, often (as at York) defining the physical and functional layout and planning of the town itself and playing an important role within the cycle of performances that comprised the ceremonial year and defined the relationship between the urban community and religious authority (Estabrook 2002).

Before the Wars, many of the tensions within urban society centred on this relationship. Since the Reformation, sacred space within England's cathedrals had been redefined, and particularly in cases where the cathedral had been a monastic foundation, as at Chester, had often been partly secularised and taken into use by the Civic authorities or by private individuals. Even before the Reformation, members of the urban elites had enjoyed access to otherwise sanctified spaces (Estabrook 2002, 594), and conflict in the years leading up to the Wars had centred on Laudian efforts to reclaim from the laity sacred space within the Cathedral Choir (Estabrook 2002, 599-600). This battle for

sacred space was by no means confined to England. Charles and Laud's attempts to bring the 'innovations' to Scotland were fraught. St Giles' Church in Edinburgh had been partly taken over by the Edinburgh Corporation for use as 'ane faire tolbuthe' and a 'schole to thair barinis' (Spicer 2003, 100), but these alienations were taken back in the attempt to establish the church as an Anglican Cathedral. St Giles remained a focus for religious dissent, and became famous as the place where Jenny Geddes threw her stool at the Bishop of Edinburgh on the first reading of the English Prayer Book, starting the riot that precipitated the first Bishop's War.

Despite the occupation of the town by both Royalist and Parliamentary armies, York Minster seems to have been little affected by the English Civil Wars, at least structurally (Cross 1977, 193). The reasons for this appear, paradoxically, to have arisen during the period of competition between the urban and religious elites within the town before the Wars. After the fall of York, the corporation assumed control not just of the Minster's land and income, but of the church and its ancillary buildings themselves. The rental income of the Liberty of St Peter was alienated from the Cathedral Chapter and buildings within the Minster Yard were rented out to new tenants, but the medieval fabric of the Minster was effectively safeguarded by the takeover. After the Restoration, there was little structural damage to repair. While there appears to have been a concerted effort to replace many of the liturgical items and furniture, the only significant structural repairs were to the storm-damaged roof in 1660 (Owen 1977, 235).

By contrast, Gloucester Cathedral suffered substantial damage during the siege and the occupations of the town by the Parliamentary and Scottish armies. Again, the cathedral had been the focus of religious and liturgical conflict from the early-17<sup>th</sup> century (Welander 1991, 353-361). There is no evidence that the cathedral was damaged

during the fighting, but there are references to damage to the stained glass resulting from the garrisoning of Scottish Cavalry there, whether as deliberate iconoclasm or casual vandalism (Welander 1991, 372-3). While Dorney recorded 'the stately fabric of the College Church, the great ornament of the City which some do say is now in danger of falling' (Welander 1991, 366-7), the receipts for extensive building work after the Restoration relate largely to the restoration of windows, specifically those damaged by the Scottish soldiers 'yt did much mischiefe to ye windows in ye Church and Cloysters' (Welander 1991, 372). Again, as at York, the Restoration saw the purchase of 'ornament', including new plate, a new organ and a font (Welander 1991, 375-7). Other damage to the cathedral seems to have been superficial. The effigy of Robert, Duke of Normandy, was broken up, though the pieces were bought and reassembled, to be reinstated after the restoration (Welander 1991, 367). One more lasting change during the Interregnum was the conversion of the Lady Chapel into a library, retained after the Restoration (Welander 366-7).

The Bishop's residences were significantly damaged during the English Civil War, again by a mixture of causes. After Bishop Goodman was driven from the cathedral in 1643, the Bishop's Palace was sacked, and the Bishop's House at Over was effectively destroyed (Welander 1991, 362).

### ***7.6.2 Parish Churches***

Cathedrals were thus consistently repaired, if not necessarily returned to their former glories, but the fortunes of parish churches were more variable. The latter part of the 17<sup>th</sup> century has been seen as marking the real break in the conception of how churches should be built and ordered. The reconstruction of the churches of London, primarily by Wren, after the Great Fire, represented a unique opportunity for reconstruction on the

grand scale. Much has been written on the methods by which such magnificent rebuilding was achieved, the architectural genius of Wren and the relationship of this architectural revolution and the recasting and development of the Anglican church after the Revolution (see Jardine 2002 for a recent introduction to Wren's life and times, or Downes 1988 for a more traditional architectural survey). The volume of the literature and debate on these churches and their influence is such that detailed discussion of this topic cannot be attempted within the scope of this thesis, but for the purposes of understanding their contribution to the emerging urban culture of the late-17<sup>th</sup> century some further comment is required.

London's 49 Wren churches and single cathedral are the most famous English expressions of the neo-classical school of architecture, and of what became the most pervasive material form of the established Church of England in terms of theological, liturgical and social significance. Previously, this school of architecture had been associated primarily with Royalty and Catholicism, but Wren's churches are particularly interesting as the first churches entirely conceived and built as explicitly and distinctively Protestant places of worship in any number in England. The success of the arrangement of these churches is marked, furthermore, by their influence on subsequent Anglican church design (Friar 2003, 423; Morrice 1982, 97). These churches were built with the conventional liturgical foci of altar and font, but also with large pulpits, pews and occasionally galleries. Underlying this particular period of construction was a very real sense of creating a new urban landscape to suit a new era, typified by John Evelyn's abortive plans for a completely replanned city (Morrice 1982, 77). Wren stated the explicitly Protestant rationale of his church architecture:

*In our reformed religion, it should seem vain to make a parish church larger, than all who are present can both hear and see. The Romanists, indeed, may build larger churches, it is enough if they hear the murmur of the mass, and see the elevation of the host, but ours are to be fitted for auditories. I can hardly think it practicable to make a single room so capacious, with pews and galleries, as to hold above 2,000 persons, and all to hear the service, and both to hear distinctly, and see the preacher (Wren, quoted in Kieckhefer 2004, 46-7).*

### **7.6.3 Holy Trinity, Berwick upon Tweed and Holy Trinity, Staunton Harold**



**Figure 7.13 Holy Trinity, Staunton Harold**

If the forms and meanings of English parish churches before and after the English Civil Wars can be set out clearly, it is instructive to investigate the nature of church building during the Protectorate. It is difficult to provide a definitive number of Anglican churches, let alone the meeting houses and chapels of other denominations, built between 1649 and 1660. Those that claim this distinction frequently proclaim themselves in information booklets or websites as unique, decrying the claims of others.

*Holy Trinity Parish Church is the only one to be built in a distinctive style at the time of Cromwell's passing through*

*Berwick en route to seign Dunbar and Edinburgh* (Berwick Parish Church Trust 2006).

*...but Staunton has the great credit of being built during the repression and tyranny of Oliver Cromwell, whereas St Saviour's was consecrated in 1662 just after the Restoration of King Charles II* (The United Benefice of Breedon and Worthington 2012).

*This [Plaxtol] is one of only three churches in England built during the Interregnum, 1649-60 and bears no Saint's name* (Plaxtol Local History Group 2012).

These claims are dubiously accurate at best. At least nine new churches that still survive were built in England during the Protectorate. These are: Holy Trinity, Berwick upon Tweed; Holy Trinity, Staunton Harold; St Saviour's, Foremark; St Matthew's, Dendron in Furness; St Matthias, Poplar; St Lawrence, Taynton; Plaxtol Parish Church; Guyhirne Parish Church; and Bramhope 'Puritan Chapel'. Charles Church at Plymouth was claimed for the Protectorate by Mowl and Earnshaw (1995, 12) in that it was started in staunchly Puritan Plymouth in 1643, and not completed until 1657. The consecration of these churches was later. The ceremony remained proscribed until the adoption of the Book of Common Prayer in 1662, making a nonsense of the claims of Staunton Harold over St Saviour's, Foremark; the rite had been so divisive that it had formed one of the '...popish and superstitious ceremonies...' referenced in Laud's attainder (Spicer 2005, 208). Presumably more buildings were used or converted into chapels for dissenting groups, but the extant non-conformist chapels and meeting houses appear to post-date the Restoration.

Cromwell was reputedly consulted on the design of Holy Trinity Berwick upon Tweed (Friar 2003, 422). Holy Trinity was built in Gothic style, and barring the absence of a tower, the closest parallel in design is St Katharine Cree in London, built under the

Laudian regime between 1628 and 1631, and described (with the contemporary Peterhouse College Chapel, Cambridge) as

*...splendid settings for Anglican worship... built under the auspices of the Laudian Church... when greater importance and magnificence was given to the Liturgy, appropriate to the dignity that the Anglican Church was gaining (Morrice 1982, 76).*



**Figure 7.14 Holy Trinity, Berwick upon Tweed**

The architectural school of Holy Trinity, Berwick was the same as that chosen by Sir Robert Shirley for a very different church of the same dedication; his estate chapel at Staunton Harold (Leicestershire; Friar 2003, 423). This church incorporated a tower, and some elements of neo-classical ornament, but most strikingly, its dedicatory inscription (admittedly added almost at the end of construction in 1663, safely after the Restoration) was one of defiance to the Protectorate order:





**Figure 7.15 The doorway, Holy Trinity, Staunton Harold**

*In the yeare 1653*  
*When all things sacred were throughout ye nation*  
*Either demolisht or profaned*  
*Sir Robert Shirley, Barronet*  
*Founded this Church*  
*Whose singular praise it is*  
*To have done the best things in ye worst times*  
*And*  
*Hoped then in the most callamitous*

*The righteous shall be had in everlasting*

*Remembrance*

Inside, the two churches were very different. Holy Trinity Berwick had no chancel, font or altar, all of which had to be added before the consecration of the new church by Bishop Cosin in 1662 (Berwick Parish Church Trust 2002, 9). More significantly, the church building was aligned East to West, but the whole internal layout of the church was turned at right angles. The focus for the congregation was the pulpit in the centre of the North wall. Galleries were installed at either end, turning the building into a theatre for the preaching of sermons, rather than the celebration of the Eucharist. Even after the Restoration, when an altar and a font were installed at the East and West ends of the church respectively, the seating arrangements remained unchanged. The pulpit, since moved to a more orthodox position in front of the chancel arch, itself became an object of legend, locally thought to be the pulpit used by John Knox when he preached in Berwick in 1548 (Berwick Parish Church Trust 2002).

Holy Trinity, Staunton Harold was clearly designed to reflect a more Laudian view of the liturgy. While the most obviously Royalist and Laudian elements of its design were prudently only completed after the Restoration, enough of the construction accounts survive to show that elements such as the painted ceiling in the nave (completed in 1655), and an altar screen (in place by late 1658) were added during the Commonwealth (Simmons and Colvin 1955, 174-175; Fincham and Tyacke 2007, 281).

What is not clear is how far the internal layout of Holy Trinity Berwick reflected its original design. We may assume that it was designed from the outset to accommodate seating aligned to face a preacher on the North wall, a conjecture supported by the absence of a chancel to hold an altar, and the known Presbyterian sympathies of many

within the town's council. In this sense, it matches The Charles Church, in both architectural style and internal layout. Mowl and Earnshaw (1995, 12) assumed that The Charles Church's gothic exterior reflected a stipulation from King Charles that the church should be built in a style suited for its loyal title, though in this case it is puzzling that such care should have been lavished on the exterior when no attempt appears to have been made to constrain the liturgical layout of the interior. This suggestion is belied by the external appearance of Holy Trinity Berwick, built for a Presbyterian congregation by a mason - John Young of Blackfriars - with links to a London guild which had financed a Puritan lecturer in Berwick through the 1640s (Mowl and Earnshaw 1995, 14). The construction of Reformed Churches in the Calvinist Netherlands, however, provides an important parallel for Holy Trinity and The Charles Church. While it is not entirely surprising that existing former Catholic churches could be adapted and reordered for Reformed worship, what is more surprising is the retention of the outward appearance and design principles of the Catholic churches in newly built Protestant churches, but with the interior fitted out to suit the new forms of liturgy. Both the Westerkirke and Zuidenkirke of Amsterdam were built and fitted out as Reformed Churches from the outset, to the same overall scheme as the older reordered Catholic Churches, with the pulpit placed on the North wall with the congregation facing the pulpit across the short axis of the church and from either end of the nave (Yates 2008, 49).

### ***7.6.3 Dissenting Chapels***

St Andrews, Newcastle, unroofed and with its tower largely destroyed during the siege, was repaired in 1652. These efforts were funded by an assessment on the parish, but the state of the church clearly required further attention, and the Common Council was petitioned for further assistance in 1678 (Mackenzie 1827 235-237). The other

Anglican churches and chapels in the town appear not to have been seriously damaged. Possibly more significant was the number of chapels and meeting houses used by the dissenting Protestants that appeared (or were at least regularised) after the act of toleration. Mackenzie (1827, 370-414) records: a Unitarian chapel just outside the Closegate, regularised at toleration; a Scottish Presbyterian meeting house in Sandgate, active in the 1660s, though no clear date for its establishment is available; a Quaker Meeting House in Gateshead used from 1674 and was moved to Newcastle in 1698; a community of Baptists from 1651, though no meeting house is known before 1725; and the use of the Ballast Hills at the Ouseburn as a burial ground, initially by the Presbyterians, and later by other dissenters. Again, the earliest record of this cemetery dates from the late-18<sup>th</sup> century, but these references (which concern the enclosure of the existing burial ground) suggest a long-established use for the site. This suggestion is at least partially borne out by the earliest datable gravestone; that of Patrick Sandalls and his wife Margaret, dated 1707 (Ouseburn Trust 2007, 5).

In Colchester, the two most severely damaged churches were St Mary at the Walls and St Botolph's. St Mary at the Walls remained roofless through much of the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and is shown as such in prints dated to 1697 (Goose and Cooper 1994, 108). The tower was rebuilt in 1702-3, funded by public donations. St Botolph's was never rebuilt and remains a picturesque ruin to this day. The plaque on the modern St Botolph's records the two centuries in which the parish had no church. At the same time, there appears to have been a vigorous, if occasionally (and brutally) suppressed, Quaker community within the town. In 1663 the Quakers were locked out of their meeting house by the mayor, and the following year it took the militia to break up one of their gatherings (Goose and Cooper 1994, 127).

## **7.7 Conclusions**

The three themes of military, ecclesiastical and civil reconstruction identified in this chapter all point towards the central tenets of historical archaeological conceptions of the modernity. This is so working from Deetz's initial (1977) characterisation of the Georgian, through Orser's (1996) central definition of the modern world and the 'four haunts' of historical archaeology to Leone and Potter's critical theory analysis of the fabric of Annapolis and Hall's (1999) dissection of Capetown's society and structure. These fundamental tenets are inextricably entwined with the articulation of power evident in the new language of Royal self-expression exemplified by the statue of Charles I at Charing Cross or that of Charles II at Lichfield, and by the expression of authority embodied in the gatehouses and the very presence of the new Royal citadels. New church building drew on ordered and classical forms that were in themselves not specifically modern, English nor Protestant, but moulded these forms to fit new circumstances and the needs of a modern age. Old churches could be abandoned, and new ones built, reflecting the new relationship between the structural, urban and human geographies of the English town. Similarly, the reconstruction, or more correctly, construction of urban housing drew on forms that were not by any means unique to any Protestant or English conception of town planning or cultural order, but interpreted them within this new context. It is as much in the interrelation of these themes as in any individual development that a distinctively modern expression of English urban culture can be seen.

This is not to argue for an abrupt and total change in conceptions of the urban form. Enough of the older culture of organic urban development survived through the 17<sup>th</sup> century to prevent the wholesale redevelopment of post-Fire London along the lines proposed by Wren and Evelyn, and it was a combination of catastrophic events and

fortuitous landholding at Bearland and Warwick, and to a certain extent on Newcastle's Quayside that allowed the new discourse of planned and ordered uniformity to find a material expression. In parallel with the conscious rebuildings of English towns, new meanings became inscribed on the built fabric of towns in a process of myth-making and memory. It is these material myths that are the subject of the following chapter.

## Chapter 8. Urban Biographies, Revolutionary Pasts

An important strand of the cultural approach to conflict archaeology is to look at the material legacy of warfare and its aftermath, again focusing on the physicality of place, landscape and movement. Drawing on his work on the material culture of the Cold War, Schofield (2009, 166-8) characterised places associated with conflict as *inspired* (laden with emotional attachments) *encoded* (where activity was ordered and ritualised) *contested* (where differing ideologies and cultures met and conflicted) *protected* (through subsequent curation) and *contaminated* (where military use blighted subsequent opportunity).

While the distance of time between the English Revolution and the present has allowed some of these distinctions to fade, this interpretive scheme can be used to help understand the meaning of the material culture of the Wars and the English Revolution to the generations who experienced these events and their legacy. The processes by which the meaningful actions of the siege and of the revolution became embodied in the built world of the town have been considered to a degree in the previous two chapters, focusing first on destruction and then on reconstruction. In this chapter, I consider the subsequent processes by which the material world of English towns became the focus for myth-making and memory, resulted in selective and partial readings of the urban world. I take an artefact biographical approach to the case studies of the legacy of the Digger occupation of St George's Hill, the origins of the nursery rhyme 'Humpty Dumpty' to understand how these partial mythologies can be understood and used to inform study of the period.

## 8.1 Artefact Biography

Deetz introduced his characterisation of early American society in *In Small Things Forgotten* (1977) with a series of vignettes which conjectures the attitudes and responses of documented individuals to observed changes:

*PLYMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS, 1765*

*Ebenezer Soule set down his hammer and chisel... although he had been making gravestones for years, this design was new to him... people in the area had recently come to prefer cherubs... and lately he'd been carving more and more of them.... (Deetz 1977, 2)*

For many archaeologists, all archaeology is story-telling; the 'model building' of the processual 'New Archaeology' of the 1960s and 1970s a pretentious label for a monolithic narrative which hides the multivalent and nuanced nature of meaning behind a veneer of apparent precision deriving from generalisation and false objectivity (Deetz 1998, 95, Praetzelis 1998, 2). One counter to this processualist tendency is archaeology 'from the inside out', or 'interpretive' archaeology (Beaudry *et al.* 1991, 163, Wilkie 2008), basing analysis on the object, and using text to better understand its context. The narrative approaches used by interpretive archaeologists vary. Deetz' vignettes served to introduce conventional data presentation and analysis; Adrian and Mary Praetzelis employed a fictive dialogue between archaeologist and subject to present their analysis of data (Praetzelis and Praetzelis 1994). Mary Beaudry (2006) has developed the form, using careful reference to textual evidence to add authenticity to her (re)constructed narratives of sewing, status and women's lives. These attempts to understand the meaning of material culture through specific artefacts and detailed use of documentary sources seek to understand the experience of the past through a dialogue between past and present to understand past meanings. However, just as processual model-building



can be critiqued as ahistorical, so can interpretive archaeologies. The danger of interpretive archaeologies is that they in seeking the experience and the agency within a situation, the appeal to empathy inherent in situations like Wilkie's (2009, 335) story of a repaired toy leads inevitably to an, at best partial and at worst anachronistic understanding (Hall 2000, 51), and interpretive archaeology must be tempered with a sensitivity to cultural context. The meanings of an artefact change and shift with context.

This focus on the shifting meaning of objects has driven a biographical approach to the study of artefacts. The archaeological notion of 'artefact biography' draws on anthropological conceptions of the changing meanings of individual artefacts (Kopytoff 1986), or classes of artefacts (Appadurai 1986). It employs traditional tools like excavation and typology (Mytum 2004, 111-112), but is concerned not only with the manufacture and use of an object, but also with the changing meaning of that object through its whole life, from construction, through damage, loss, deposition, recovery and as a curated object (Grulich 2008, 1). Artefact biographical studies have been used primarily to understand the 'small things forgotten' of daily household life which are so laden with cultural meaning not in spite of, but as a result of their utilitarian nature (Thommason 2005; King 2006). They become of particular interest as the implications of consumer choice can be more clearly traced through the industrial period (Jeffries 2009; Webster 1999), or as the biography of one object casts new light on associated objects, as the in case of the Welsh dresser, built to allow ceramics to be displayed and appreciated (Vincentelli 2002). A biographical approach also been used to understand more exceptional objects, such as Tarlow's (2008) tracing of the history of Cromwell's head after his posthumous 'execution' by hanging, drawing and quartering following the Restoration, artefacts that through their historical associations accrue a biography in a

way that others do not (Gosden and Marshall 1999). In this context, narratives of a contested past are particularly important; they are carefully constructed, omissions and disjunctures being as important as inclusions. Public discourse often focuses on the controversial or transgressive, and tangible objects and structures form potent links between present and past. These contested pasts continue to shape the world around us, whether in hidden worlds within the city, the imperial origins of multi-ethnic cities (Yamin 2001, Symonds 2004) or Hall's transcripts of dominance, resistance, slavery and colonialism resonating in post-apartheid Capetown (Hall 2000).

At the end of Chapter 6, the exploration of the true complexity of destruction as a subject of archaeological study left off with the realisation that destruction was an active source of cultural production. The damaged structures and townscape of Colchester gained meaning as a result of the siege, meaning that changed as new transcripts were woven around them as perceptions of the Wars and their actors changed over time. The structures that we first encountered as examples of destruction, along with other sites associated with the English Revolution are ideally suited for a biographical approach to understanding their meaning. The artefact biographies of the structures and spaces that were as much active participants in the English Revolution as the men and women who inhabited them provides a better understanding of how English culture negotiated the dislocation of the Revolution, seeking to root itself once more in the past, drawing new meaning from old, and find meaning in and out of destruction. Cromwell featured with the Devil as a mythical destroyer in assorted local legends in the century following the English Civil Wars (Fox 2000, 255-7); just part of an engagement with the past which continued through the following centuries. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, conservative social and religious groupings found inspiration in the Royalist cause while political reformers looked to the struggle to achieve Parliamentary ascendancy; in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, scholars

like Hill and Tawney drew on Marxian conceptions of revolution (Richardson 1998, 74-140). Today, radical politicians, writers and singers find new resonances in the imagery and language of the Revolution, though these resonances are as mythical and selective as those found centuries earlier. It is this process of selection that makes the biographical approach such a powerful tool for understanding the past and later interaction with that past.

## **8.2 The Revolutionary Past?**

The mythic nature of many of the events of the Wars and their resonances with subsequent political and social movements is one of the most interesting, but difficult aspects of the period. Possibly one of the starkest examples of this process of myth-making is at St George's Hill, Surrey. This site is currently an exclusive gated estate in suburban Surrey, but had been the setting for the Diggers, a small religious group whose attempt to create a new and Godly model society became the most famous civil occupation of modern English history. This juxtaposition of radical memory and current use has given rise to parallel mythologies of place, and St George's Hill remains, in Schofield's (2009) schema, an *inspired* and *contested* place.

Whether the historical resonances of his act were known to Stefan Cybulski and those with him in the spring of 2011 when they occupied Woodlawn Cottage, on the exclusive St George's Hill Estate is uncertain. These resonances were certainly lost to the Conservative-leaning Daily Telegraph and Daily Mail, which reacted with furious indignation that six unemployed squatters, '...known to police...' could enter, take up residence, and live with impunity from the police (but under constant surveillance by the estate's private security) in the gated estate home (at various points) to such luminaries as the actresses Shilpa Shetty and Kate Winslet, musicians Ringo Starr and

Elton John and the celebrity businessman, Theo Paphitis (*Daily Telegraph* 27<sup>th</sup> May 2011; *Daily Mail* 28<sup>th</sup> May 2011). These resonances were probably lost to the residents of:

*...a distinctive and unique location designed for driven, motivated and successful high achievers who are looking for a secure and private location in understated and tranquil surroundings. The Hill is a place that provides an escape from the busy lives of its discerning residents. It is, quite simply, a nice place to live.* (St George's Hill Residents Association)

The Resident's Association website includes a section on The 'Hill's' history, jumping from the Iron Age occupants of the hill fort across which a number of houses have been built to the construction of the estate from 1911 by W.G. Tarrant. No mention is made of the occupation of St George's Hill in 1649 and 1650 by the Diggers, a radical grouping who took their inspirations from the writings of Gerard Winstanley. They occupied common land on St George's Hill with the intention of creating a utopian community. This display of independence brought them into conflict with both the local community and government, and the settlement was overthrown by force.

The resonances were certainly not lost on radical commentators. Comments on local press reporting and left-leaning blogs were almost universally supportive of the squatters. Many comments evoked the memory of the Diggers, most frequently at a remove through the words of Leon Rosselson's *The World Turned Upside Down*. At least one quoted Winstanley (Bone 2011, Get Reading 2011). While no such parallels had been raised in 2009, when the former owner of Woodlawn Cottage squatted in the house from which she had been evicted (BBC 2009), an explicitly politically motivated occupation had taken place in 1999, when a group calling itself variously the "New Diggers", the "Diggers Community" and "The Land is Ours" set up camp within the

gated estate. The stated aim of this occupation was to set up a memorial stone to the original diggers at St George's Hill, but press releases issued by the New Diggers refer to the restoration of public access, a challenge to the legality of the original enclosures of the Hill, and a general promotion of a vision '...for decent secure homes, community food production and a renewed sense of belonging.' (The Land is Ours 1999).



**Figure 8.1 The entrance to the St George's Hill Estate (Courtesy Hazel Simpson, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/moley75/2806037493/>)**

The visible material legacy of the diggers is almost non-existent, a problem that is highlighted by attempts to interpret this history for the public by way of the Surrey Diggers Trail, an initiative by Elmbridge Museum. A number of sites, including Walton Church, St George's Hill and Cobham Heath are identified in a leaflet and map, and interpretation boards have been set up (Elmbridge Museums 2000), but under the suburban development and gated private estates, there is little to see that provides any direct material link to the Diggers, and no additional public access has been provided to

‘The Hill’. The historical resonance of place and action is one that is created and curated, rather than an intrinsic characteristic, and it is this process of creation of a selective and mythic past, in either radical or dominant discourse, that makes these biographies of place so important.

The legacy of the Diggers to modern radicalism is as problematic in its selectivity as it is inspirational in its essence. In the same way Leveller’s Day, sponsored by the Worker’s Education Association, has been celebrated at Burford since 1975, with past speakers including Tony Benn, Ken Livingstone, Bruce Kent and Tariq Ali (Leveller’s Day Committee 2008). The irony of the event being the selective celebration by secularist socialists - in an Anglican Church - of a proto-democratic movement who based their morality on their Christian faith and their franchise on property ownership.

The Diggers’ continuing hold on both the cultural landscape and popular imagination contrasts with the lack of serious archaeological involvement in the period. This type of disjuncture between popular memory and dominant discourse has been more frequently addressed in terms of the material meanings of the city of the more recent past, with critical theory understanding this disjuncture in terms of resistance to dominant discourse, and interpretive archaeologies stressing the importance of personal and particular experiences of the past. A particularly clear example is Mayne and Murray’s (1999) study of the global ‘slum myth’, which deconstructed the understanding of the slums that had been constructed in dominant discourse by studying its own materiality, and the material traces of its inhabitants’ lives. Following Glassie (1975, 11), Mayne and Murray (1999, 3) refer to an archaeology from the ‘inside out’, developing new narratives *from* the slum, rather than *of* it, an approach developed in subsequent studies of Sydney’s ‘slum district’ at The Rocks (e.g. Murray and Crook 2005, 90-2). In

studying aspects of the Wars that have been deliberately distorted in dominant discourse, this approach from the inside out is fundamental to obtaining an understanding of the past and our interaction with it.

Like Hall's transcripts, the constructed narratives of the city that are understood on an almost instinctive level (Hight 2005, 7) and created through the medium of its structure, elide conventional boundaries of discipline and genre; at times of radical cultural change they express power and resistance, conformity and rebellion, and over time link an evolving present with an imagined past made real through its material legacy. This type of narrative is disjointed and non-linear, often counter-factual and imagined. These narratives are all the more pervasive and convincing because they live in the relationship between the reader and the material world (Mayne and Murray 1999), drawing on the materiality of the past for legitimacy. It is this understanding of polyvalence that makes historical archaeology such an effective tool for understanding and challenging these constructed narratives. Archaeological approaches to the conception of cultural meaning and discourse stress not only the 'use life' of an object or structure, but its full 'life history', understanding its changing meaning over time and to different viewers. Unpicking these narratives is fundamental to better understanding past cultures because the construction of these narratives, centred on specific sites is a key element of a culture's attitudes to and experience of its own past. Archaeological study of structures and their meanings facilitates a continuing interpretative dialogue between structure and text, between past and present, supposedly letting the city tell its own story. The city has been likened to the constructed narratives of fiction:

*The city is also an agitated space... a collection of data and sub-text to be read in the context of ethnography, history, semiotics, architectural patterns and forms, physical form and rhythm,*

*juxtaposition, city planning, land usage shifts and other ways of interpretation and analysis. The city patterns can be equated to the patterns within literature: repetition, sub-text shift, metaphor, cumulative resonances, emergence of layers, decay and growth* (Hight 2003).

Hight was referring to his *34 north 118 west* project, which used audio-visual equipment linked to GPS to deliver sounds and sights at specific points on a tour of the city, leading the ‘reader’ through a directed narrative. As the ‘reader’ moves through the town, different sites each with their own associations and relationships come into view (Hight 2005, 1-2). The physical world of the city, with its associations, its statements, its history, and its meanings, does not, however, need the mediation of an artist to form new narratives in the minds of those who experience it. Indeed, to define these narratives as the city’s ‘own’ story is to miss the point. The urban landscape at once expresses discourse and shapes it, conditioning cultural processes and transmission, defining inhabited space, governing movement and encounters from the everyday and mundane to the exceptional and momentous (Leech 1999). The polyvalent nature of urban transcripts is such that there several narratives can coexist, with conscious acts of selection and omission defining the city’s own story. Unpicking this process of selection is central to understanding this shifting relationship with the material past.

### **8.3 Colchester: Urban Myth and the Legacies of War**

#### ***8.3.1 Humpty Dumpty had a Great Fall...***

The material world of the city is best seen as a constructed narrative, which developed over centuries, and continues to develop. Indeed, as an inhabited space that has developed over time through the agency of numerous individuals the city is a cultural artefact that is richer and more varied in meaning than any portable object (Upton 1992, 69). In a Foucauldian sense, built structure forms a statement; a physical expression of discourse which despite its physical permanence has meaning that is polyvalent and



mutable (Foucault 1972, 105). The church of St Mary-at-the-Walls, Colchester was built as an expression of medieval Catholicism; by the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century it was at the centre of the everyday life of the reformed Church of England in the town. During the siege, it evidently became part of the fortifications of the town. Now it is an arts centre, devoid of specific religious importance. It was not only the function of the building that changed, but its place in the network of power and order within the town's cultural world.

To understand the process of the construction of the myth Humpty Dumpty, we need to return to Carter's account of the siege of Colchester, and understand its interaction with subsequent events. Carter detailed Lucas and Lisle's summary executions (Carter 1650, 181-201) and the trials of Goring and Capel, the other leaders of the Royalist army at Colchester (Carter 1650, 205-226). These events proved to be long-lived in local and national memory. Sir Charles Lucas was the son of John Lucas, a local grandee who had found Royal favour and local enemies through his support in collecting Ship Money in 1640. Like Sir George Lisle, Lucas was a professional soldier with experience of the 30 Years War, and had fought for the King in the First English Civil War, and like Lucas had sworn an oath not to take up arms against Parliament, an action that proved their undoing. Lucas appears in Parliamentary sources as a blood-thirsty and brutal commander, in Royalist sources as a loyal and courtly soldier. The martyr-cult of Lucas and Lisle developed rapidly after the Restoration, its memory remaining pervasive as a prevailing discourse of loyalty, order and precedence dominated the cultural landscape (Donagan 2003, 178-9), and Colchester moved from being a hotbed of revolution to a staunchly Royalist centre (Walter 2000, 335-6). Even into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the executions remained the principal issue for local historians like Markham (1877), Penn (1888) or Boustred (1974). In 1975, Colchester Museum's guide to the siege used an

image of the executions from the pamphlet *The Loyall Sacrifice...* (Thomason/E.1202 [2]) for its cover, with Lisle exclaiming ‘Shoot rebels- your shot, your shame- our fall, our fame’ over Lucas’ dead body (Clarke 1975).

The context of the creation of this narrative cannot be ignored. Much of what is now regarded as ‘oral’ culture has its origins in the early print culture of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century (Fox 2000, 410), at the same time as an emerging urban elite was seeking legitimacy in a constructed past of civic history, myth and genealogy (Tittler 1998, 74-102). New legitimacy was found by rooting Colchester within the dominant discourse of loyalty and conformity through a range of myths which were constructed and reinforced through repeated reference to half-truth, rumour, and propaganda. The town’s Parliamentary sympathies were forgotten, and emphasis was now placed on the Royalist defence of the town, with Sir Charles Lucas, a native of the town at its centre. The site of Lucas and Lisle’s executions at Colchester Castle was an *inspired* and *encoded* place, touted as a tourist attraction in the years following the siege:

*The inhabitants had a tradition, that no Grass would grow on the spot where the blood of those two gallant gentlemen was spilt; and they shewed the spot bare of grass for many years but whether this is the reason I will not affirm; the story is now dropp’d and the Grass, I suppose grows there as in other places.*  
(Defoe, 1724, 16)

The apparent sterility of the ground where the martyrs fell was referred to by John Evelyn in 1662 (de Beer 1955, 177) and was apparently maintained ‘by art’ into the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Walter 2000, 336-7, note 22). Despite this collective memory (Donagan 2003) the sites most closely associated with the Lucas family, St John’s Abbey and St Giles’ Church, appear not to have entered into the public consciousness.

In 1648 St John's Abbey was owned by Sir John Lucas, Charles' elder brother. He had shown his loyalty to Charles I by collecting the Ship Money before the English Civil War, which with various alleged infringements of the town's liberties and privileges had caused a violent rift between the family and the town. This rift culminated in the 1642 'plundering,' where the townspeople 'spontaneously' broke into and ransacked the house, desecrating the family burial vault in St Giles' church as the town's elite either encouraged or at least turned a blind eye to proceedings (Walter 2000, 25).

During the siege the house and grounds, still ruinous from the plundering, were held by the Royalist army (Walter 2000, 98). The Royalists were driven from the house and the gatehouse in which they took refuge was destroyed either by cannon fire or a grenade which set off the powder magazine. The subsequent destruction of the house and the ransacking of St Giles' Church merited a fuller discussion by Carter, who focused on a trope of female violation more familiar from accounts of the wars in Ireland and Germany (Donagan 1988, 1994), than any other single act of destruction.

*Having thus possessed themselves of this house... the first thing thought of was to plunder, and accordingly... those things which were moveable in it, though of little worth, or service, they took away; which chiefly consisted of bedsteads, stools, and the like for the said house had divers times before plundered... they broke open the vault wherein the ancestors of the Lucas's family were usually interred... and finding several corpses not quite dissolved, particularly the corpse of the Lady Lucas, and the Lady Killigrew, who were buried in leaden coffins; they tore open the said coffins, dismembered their trunks, throwing a leg in one corner of the vault, and an arm in another, and were so impudent... as to take away the hair of those ladies heads in their hats, as a triumphant bravado... in this condition the vault continued till the corpse of Sir Charles Lucas, that loyal martyr was brought to be entombed there (Carter 1650, 135-7).*

Significant similarities between Carter's account and that of events six years earlier suggest conflation of the plundering of 1642 and the siege, making it difficult to unpick which atrocity was associated with which event.



**Figure 8.2 St John's Abbey Gatehouse, restored during the 19<sup>th</sup> century**

The reasons why St John's Abbey and St Giles' never become significant foci for Royalist retellings of the siege are nowhere articulated in contemporary text. It seems that a conscious political decision was made to curb the martyr mythology to avoid reigniting local feuds (Walter 2000, 336; Donagan 2003). Fairfax's family unsuccessfully attempted to have Sir Charles Lucas' memorial inscription in St Giles' amended (Donagan 2003, 178). While the place of Lucas and Lisle's execution was

marked out and shown to visitors, their graves were not. Attention was more safely drawn to Sir Charles Lucas, local martyr of the Royalist cause and the site of his execution than to the Abbey, home of his father and brother, whose relations with the town were chequered with mistrust, disorder and rebellion (Walter 2000, 336-7). 'The ruins of St John's continued to offer Colchester a brooding mnemonic of events in 1642' (Walter 2000, 337), and to draw any the link to the siege would have been too close to the townspeople's own plundering of the site; Carter's conflation of the events a convenient deflection of the townspeople's misdemeanours onto the New Model Army; the Abbey had become *contaminated* by the memory of past conflict, while no less a part of the story of Lucas' life and death, it never became *inspired* or *encoded* in the way that the execution site did.

While memory of the plundering was consigned to a footnote in a local history written by those with a vested interest in forgetting the town's rebellious past (Walter 2000, 337), the execution of Sir Charles Lucas spawned an active scholarly and popular controversy that remained politically charged for centuries after the event. A paper defending the legality of Lucas and Lisle's executions at a meeting of the Archaeological Institute at Colchester in 1876 was greeted with angry debate (Donagan 2003, 178). At least five significant articles and books on the siege, focusing particularly the parts played by Lucas, Lisle and Fairfax were published in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Townsend 1874; Markham 1877; Penn 1888; Round 1894; Wright 1899). A play was written and performed in 1908 (Crake 1908). This Royalist narrative ran against the prevailing whiggish trend in academic histories of the time (Richardson 1998, 93-6), but reflects a 19<sup>th</sup>-century dominant discourse of duty and order which characterised the dualism of attitudes towards the revolutionary past that was satirised by Sellar and Yeatman (1930, 63-8), and an engagement with the past that

transcended academic historiography at a time of renewed religious pluralism in the town. St James' Catholic Church was built in 1837, and a Catholic chaplain was appointed to the garrison in 1865 (Cooper 1994, 338-9). At the same time, there was a revival of the Colchester Quakers in the 1870s and 1880, the growth in the 1860s of various Baptist, Methodist and Congregational groups, the latter closely linked to the Liberal party in the town (Cooper 1994, 339-51); religious life in the town was becoming more varied and increasingly politically engaged.

The place of Lucas and Lisle's executions is marked by a memorial obelisk erected in 1887 by Henry Laver, a former Mayor of Colchester. While an obelisk might be chosen for civic memorials as a result of its denominational neutrality, here it was a symbol loaded with associations with different pasts. It had been a favoured form of Victorian memorial, and was subsequently employed for War Memorials in the late-19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Corke 2005, 7) as a symbol of strength and military power (Petts 2006, 205). In what was shortly thereafter to become Colchester's principal public park, this monument amounted to more than just a civic commemoration of one of the town's more controversial sons. At a time when conceptions of masculinity were changing and a new discourse of masculinity was developing (Tosh 1994), the memorial was a celebration of masculine virtues of duty, self-sacrifice and bravery.



**Figure 8.3 The Lucas and Lisle Memorial in Castle Park, Colchester**

#### ***8.3.4 ...Couldn't put Humpty Together Again.***

Later civic commemoration attempted even-handedness, remembering the commanders of both sides in street names; Lucas, Fairfax and Cromwell Roads are uncomfortably juxtaposed in the New Town area, Ireton Road and Goring Road in the Maldon Road area, and Barnadiston and Barkstead Roads in St Ann's. Significantly, these streets all form part of late-19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup>-century development of the town's suburbs. This civic engagement with the past is by no means universal, and is in stark contrast to an earlier refusal to acknowledge the siege at St Botolph's. While it was irreparably damaged in the siege, the former Priory Church of St Botolph was never

commemorated in this way. The dedication stone on the new church, built adjacent to the picturesque ruins of the old in 1837, states:

*The parish of S<sup>t</sup> Botolph*

*having been without a Church*

*for nearly two hundred Years*

*this stone was laid on Wednesday*

*11 of May 1836 by JOHN ROUND Esq*

*AL<sup>L</sup> Glory be to God*

There is no mention of the circumstances that left the parish ‘without a Church’. This omission was repeated in the Royal Commission description of the Priory, which described the post-Dissolution history of the site in a single paragraph which described only the owners (Peers 1917, 12-13), but later mused, albeit equally briefly, on the extent of pre-siege survival of the Priory Church (Peers 1917, 14-15). The church of St Martin was unroofed during the siege, and remains part-ruined to this day. Small inclusions within the font of St Martin’s, now in the Church of St Lawrence, Rowhedge, are popularly rumoured to be fragments of cannonball. Many fine houses, including the home of Harbottle Grimston (the town’s MP), were also destroyed. The suburbs, ruined by fire and artillery merit no memorial; no legends or rhymes survive to catalogue their destruction. This conscious process of selection has created a material narrative of the siege from the built environment of the town itself. This material narrative is a partial account that entwines with the more familiar textual narratives, converging and diverging at critical moments. For this reason it is a valuable and vivid source for understanding the town in the centuries that followed the siege, an important case-study in understanding how cultures relate to the past through the material world.



## **Chapter 9. Conclusions**

### **9.1 Of History and Archaeology**

The intention of this thesis was to determine how a genuinely archaeological approach to the English Civil War and Revolution could contribute to understanding of the period. At the same time, the materiality of the English Revolution would be explored to highlight and interpret disjunctures between material and documentary narratives, thereby contributing further to the understanding of the English Revolution. By focusing on the material culture of the period, it would be possible to address and redress the failure of archaeologists to engage with the crisis of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In applying to the period a theoretical perspective drawing from post-1492 historical archaeology, the English Revolution could once again be set in its place at the heart of the search to understand the origins of modernity.

The mainstream of British post-medieval archaeology and historical archaeology continues to focus on long-term cultural and economic changes, principally Parliamentary enclosure, improvement and industrialisation. Most of this work takes the 18<sup>th</sup> century as its locus, or in the case of the archaeology of Reformation, is concerned with the end of ‘medievalism’ in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Parochial studies of the English Civil War have tended to focus largely on battlefield archaeology, and this has made study of the period a refuge for military specialists. Work on castle destruction (Rakoczy 2007) and small sieges (Harrington 2005) functioned not as building blocks or starting points for more far-reaching understanding of cultural processes, but as ends in themselves, whether by design or by the absence of further engagement. As a result, linkages to wider cultural processes were acknowledged, but never followed through. Despite the stated aims of projects such as the Bloody Meadows (Carman 1999), battlefield studies have had little, if any, real impact on the mainstream of British archaeology.

Documentary historical approaches have, in the main, failed to link long-term cultural change with the essentially short-term social and political dislocation of the period 1640-1660. The elision of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms apparent in long-term social and economic approaches to the period that was noted by Morrill (1999, 7), betrays a characterisation of the Revolution as an unimportant, if traumatic, interlude in a grand narrative, while increasingly specific studies of the Civil War eschew cultural perspective for a focus on the events and personalities of the period.

This thesis has argued that this unsatisfactory situation can be redressed through the use of material culture evidence and archaeological methodologies. The theoretical framework of post-1492 historical archaeology is uniquely fitted to developing an understanding of the English Revolution in terms of its material culture, wherein a nuanced understanding of the interactions between people, material objects and texts can be employed to develop an explicitly archaeological conception of the English Revolution.

To recapitulate on Chapter 1, the three research aims of this thesis were:

- to explore the use of archaeological evidence and methods to gain greater insights into the English Revolution;
- to develop an understanding of the materiality of the Revolution and its interaction with documentary narratives;
- to set the English Revolution into the temporal and theoretical context of historical archaeology.

Each of these research aims was amplified by specific objectives. The success of this project in meeting the defined research aims can best be assessed against the identified objectives, for it is only through understanding these specific areas of enquiry that a

wider synthesis and clearer understanding of the importance of archaeological study of the period can be defined.

I make no claims that this thesis is a comprehensive, definitive or even representative understanding of the English Revolution; from the outset, I adopted a methodology that was tailored more to the evidence that was readily available than to an attempt at achieving some measure of representativity. The result is an undeniably personal and selective study, and more work will be required to develop a better understanding of the wider issues raised within my research. I have provided some indications of where I feel that further study could be most profitably targeted, although I fully expect others to disagree. In a subject so long neglected, what matters here is the debate.

## **9.2 The use of archaeological evidence and methods to understand the English Revolution**

### ***9.2.1 Understanding English Urban Material Culture through Fortification.***

The investigation of 17<sup>th</sup>-century urban fortification in Chapters 3 and 4 has in no way been an end in itself, but has opened up whole new avenues of study and areas of future interest. While urban fortification is but a partial indication of the nature of urban culture during this period, it is an important and useful starting point. As noted in the introduction to this thesis, local elites and councils generally rushed to put their towns into good defensive order at the beginning of the Wars. Records are incomplete; the generally poor survival of such works, the sketchy documentary records of fortification and the neglect of this aspect of urban life in the existing body of scholarship combine to restrict our knowledge. What is clear from the present survey is that where any serious investigation into the issue is made, archaeological or textual records demonstrate that preparations were made for war. These preparations were taken seriously and despite previous assertions that contemporary descriptions of works were

frequently exaggerated (O'Neil 1960), archaeological evidence shows that in many cases, substantial works were undertaken (Harrington 2004, 27).

Fortification (or, more properly the many equivalent terms more commonly used, such as placing into a 'posture of defence') could encompass a number of different activities (Atkin 1991), but the common factor was that these defences were locally planned, funded and executed. Some central funds were made available, but at the outset of the English Civil War, at least, these were notional contributions. The conception that townspeople should organise their own defence through existing local structures remained; and in the light of the absolute uncertainty that accompanied the outbreak of the English Civil War, this much is unsurprising. The link between local urban communities and their military defence had been established during the high middle ages, and became a powerful element of identity and self-representation, best demonstrated in chorographic and antiquarian writings that linked the prestige, influence and independence of a town directly to its fortifications. Private individuals could make grants of money, material or labour, best seen in the context of the increasing tendency of local elites through the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries to express their wealth and power through civic, rather than religious expenditure (Tittler 2001, 12-13). The construction of these defences by townspeople (frequently literally, as well as in the more conventional sense of providing the funding), the frequent destruction of suburban property to make space for new fortifications or to clear lines of fire and the perceptual separation of townspeople from those outside produced the effective militarisation of urban society.

The most important consideration in understanding the conceptual importance of town walls can be seen most clearly in the circuits of the fortifications of London and Bristol

(Russell 1995, Sturdy 1975). Town walls and the refurbished defences had to encircle and enclose the urban fabric. In London, the response was to enclose the whole developed area of the city with a circuit that extended far beyond any previous defensive line. The companies of the City of London were inextricably involved with this process, providing labour, money and materials to create a militarily vulnerable circuit that was so long and so slight as to be virtually indefensible. It created, nevertheless, a formidable perceptual barrier to the city. Bristol, too was defended by a line set out by the Common Council at the beginning of the English Civil War that was so long as to be indefensible. The first siege of Bristol was short-lived and ended in ignominious, but expedient surrender. Despite the clear lesson provided by the fall of the Parliamentary garrison, and the presence of a number of professional soldiers and engineers in their ranks, the Royalists retained and reinforced the extended line that they had broken with ease (Russell 1995).

In other cases, the decision was made to reinforce existing medieval walls. Newcastle's town walls were refortified in 1640 initially as an emergency measure, though Astley, the engineer in charge of the works, expressed his reservations about the effectiveness of the work (Welford 1887, 233). At Northampton, Papillon's repeated insistence that the circuit be drawn in from the medieval walls to encompass the more compact town of his own era was repeatedly ignored or vetoed by his employers (Foard 1995a).

Whatever the vulnerability of the defensive works, the whole of the medieval circuit, if not the whole of the town's built area, had to be defended.

These examples reveal a fundamental underlying assumption: town walls were a key indicator and guarantor of an urban identity. The implications for property and areas outside the fortifications were severe, and potentially catastrophic. The extramural

suburbs became the battlegrounds of the urban siege, and could be, as at Newcastle and Colchester, deliberately fired at the approach of an enemy, or as at Gloucester, deliberately and systematically cleared (Atkin and Howes 1993). It has not been possible to comment on the factors which influenced the exclusion of certain suburbs from the fortified areas of towns in general, and it seems likely that a complex interrelation of tenurial, jurisdictional and residential factors came into play here. At Leicester, the walled Newarke (an annex to the town walls and the residence of much of the town's elite) was particularly strongly fortified (Courtney and Courtney 1992). In Newcastle, the suburbs of Closegate, Sandgate and Pilgrim Street Gate remained outside the walled circuit; speculation on the presence of a number of disaffected Presbyterian Scots in these suburbs has never been backed up with clear demographic evidence. Later records show that these were very poor areas of the town (Langton 1975), but definitive evidence for a cultural and political divide remains elusive.

While many English town walls had been left to decay in what had been an unprecedented period of sustained peace (outside the Scottish Borders) following the end of the Wars of the Roses over a century and a half earlier, they were still identified as important elements of a town's identity. That town walls were preserved and used was not mere contingency, but an important element of cultural production. Reusing and recasting the walls in terms of the sensibilities of the period was fundamental to ensuring their continued upkeep and conceptual importance. Elsewhere, where town walls were maintained; it was as urban monuments that retained a link between the population who maintained them and the security and privileges of urban status. The 'modern' defences instituted during the Wars were not similarly retained. In contrast to the examples from continental Europe, few of these defences survived the end of the Wars in anything approaching a coherent form; the new defences simply did not survive

long enough to influence subsequent town planning or leave a trace that can be recovered in palimpsest. The works appear to have been demolished fairly rapidly and the land restored to its previous use. Tenorial factors appear likely to be important here; at Newcastle, references are made to the attempted demolition or infilling of defensive works by landowners who found that their presence hindered their daily activities (TWAS 589/4). There were some exceptions to this rule. In cases where substantial works had been built (and survived) in open areas there was no immediate need to clear them. Such works remain visible on later maps, and include the north-western bastion of Shieldfield fort in Newcastle (Oliver 1840), or at Bedford House in London (Flintham 1998, 234).

The study of urban fortification anchors my research firmly in the urban culture of England in the years leading up to the Wars. The key themes of power, order and precedence are critical to understanding the nature of urban fortification, and are crucial to establishing the link between the key themes of documentary history and the material world of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century town.

### ***9.2.2 Understanding Warfare as a Material Expression of Culture through the practice of Urban Sieges.***

As set out at Chapter 5, the mode of fortification adopted by urban communities reflected not only the nature of urban culture at the outbreak of the Wars, but also the prevailing tactical and strategic aims of the wars themselves. Towns became important strategic targets as sources of cash, supplies and manpower as well as acting as regional seats of power. The vulnerability of individual towns to attack was increased, as a direct result of their importance. Towns across the nation, and not just in the principal theatres

of war in the south-west, the Midlands and Yorkshire, could change hands several times or be subject to damaging and costly raids.

While much has been made of the ephemeral and ‘amateurish’ nature of 17<sup>th</sup>-century English fortifications in comparison with better known and more substantial works in continental Europe (O’Neil 1960, Harrington 2004), these comparisons are misleading and must be understood in the tactical context of the English Civil Wars. English field armies never acquired the offensive firepower or specialist engineering expertise available to the armies of the 30 Years War, and the fates of towns were frequently decided not by sieges, but by field battles taking place a short way outside a town, as at Marston Moor (1644) or Newburn (1640), although siege artillery became more available during the Second English Civil War. The relatively ephemeral town defences of the English Civil War were intended, in most cases, not to repel a lengthy set-piece siege by a well-equipped field army, but to protect against the costly and frequently damaging economic raids that could be carried out by a smaller force. They also enabled the urban authorities to negotiate from a position of relative strength.

Sieges were characterised by an initial burst of intense fighting. At Pontefract, the besiegers’ cannon fired 1178 shots in the first four days after their siege artillery arrived, and only 31 in the following week (Raine 1861, 9-16). At Newcastle and Colchester, periods of heavy fighting appear to have been prompted by the arrival of reinforcements and siege artillery. On the whole, the siege can be characterised as a drawn-out campaign to establish enough breaches in the town wall to either convince the defenders of the hopelessness of their situation or to allow the besieging force to enter the town. These longer sieges are often characterised as the result of caution, or the besieging general’s unwillingness to commit to a costly storm, but there were significant risks in



waiting. Relief forces could arrive to lift the siege, or disease could break out in the unsanitary conditions of the offensive lines, as at Plymouth (Stoyle 1998). The restricted firepower of the besieging forces meant that the operation of bringing cannon close enough to the walls to breach the defences was a slow process fraught with danger. Mining under the walls, while occasionally spectacularly successful, also required a close approach that could be hindered by fire, sallies from the town or counter-mining. The underlying geology was often unsuitable for undermining: Colchester was located on a hill of glacial sand, and Newark on low-lying river gravel terraces.

The other factor driving the tactical logic of the siege was the need to prevent the town's defenders from sallying out, whether to escape, forage new supplies or to disrupt the besieging forces. This need was most dramatically met by the construction of elaborate circumvallations. It is difficult to conjecture how frequently this strategy was employed; the only recorded circumvallations of towns were at Newark, Colchester and perhaps Pontefract. As archaeological evidence of these circumvallations has proven elusive, it is entirely possible that further examples remain to be identified elsewhere. These works remain the most potent illustrations of the enclosure of urban culture, further reinforcing the militarisation of the town. This conception of enclosure was not lost on contemporaries, with explicit comparisons being drawn between the actions of enclosing landlords and the generals coordinating a siege (Lupton 1632, 104-8).

During and at the conclusion of the siege, ceremonials and rituals of possession were enacted. Negotiations over the surrender of a town were carried out in the language of a culture within which recognition of rank and esteem were as important as correct and courtly language. In some cases, the actions of the soldiers who took part in a successful urban storm could be seen as a ritualised act, reinforced by retrospective accounts and

justifications, such as Lithgow's (1644, 22) description of the ransacking of 'papisted' houses in Newcastle, and the disruption of a baptism by the Presbyterian Scots. More elaborate formal ceremonials of possession after the siege of Colchester included Fairfax's decision to perambulate the town's defences and parade before the defeated Royalists. The elaborate etiquette of surrender included specific agreements on the ceremonial exit of the defeated army, and stated whether the departing forces were allowed to carry colours, weapons and supplies. These rituals were analogous to the increasingly elaborate civic processions that had developed over the previous 100 years.

The interaction between offence and defence allows the fundamental links between 17<sup>th</sup>-century urban culture and warfare to be understood. The selection of the town as a field of conflict, and the strategic and tactical objectives of that conflict form expressions of discourse that are elaborately ritualised. It is not enough to look to a functional analysis of factors such as viewshed, musket range and artillery strength without understanding the cultural conceptions of how war should be fought, who should fight and what it should be fought over. While the discourses of warfare have so often been lost on the battlefield, the culture of manners and order that governed the apparent anarchy of the Wars can be seen in the negotiations of surrender or the ceremonial of possession which provide explicit links between discourse and action.

### ***9.2.3 To Understand Destruction Caused by Warfare.***

Destruction is probably the most graphic and extreme material expression of warfare, and seems ideal for an archaeological exploration as at Chapter 6. In other cultures and contexts the study of the selection of sites for iconoclastic or politically motivated destruction, alongside the manifestation of that destruction and the methods employed

to effect it, have proved rich sources for understanding cultural meanings and perceptions.

Up to a point, the destruction caused by the Wars and by associated unrest and disorder during the English Revolution can be treated in a similar way. Churches were frequently targeted, with the Laudian ‘innovations’ of altar rails and screens being removed and vestments destroyed or stolen. The frequency of such actions is unclear, and while they remain a trope of contemporary Royalist literature, the material evidence for such actions is difficult to understand in the absence of detailed records like the diary of William Dowsing, the Provost Marshall of the armies of the Eastern Association, who was appointed by the Earl of Manchester in 1643 to destroy ‘all Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry’ and whose journal recorded a progress through East Anglia from 1643 to 1644 in search of ‘popish’ survivals, recording their destruction as he went (Cooper 2001, White and Evelyn 1885). A key factor here is simply that the previous century had seen iconoclasm on a colossal scale, and the majority of churches had already been reordered and cleared of survivals of identifiably Catholic liturgical ornament.

The homes of prominent supporters of a losing side could be pillaged or destroyed, or military defences could be slighted. After the siege of Portsmouth the fine wall hangings of Goring’s house were remade into uniforms and colours for the Parliamentary army (Webb 1997): this was an interesting, though rarely documented, inversion of the meanings of these items. Lithgow (1645, 22) identifies instances of apparently targeted destruction, both during the bombardment of Newcastle and after the fall of the town, and the Colchester siege map noted destruction of the houses of Harbottle Grimston and Barrington (Colchester’s Parliamentary Members of Parliament) and Lady Rivers,

who was apparently suspected of crypto-Catholicism. These documented episodes offer tantalising glimpses into the meaning of destruction, but these meanings are difficult to decipher in the absence of further records.

Destruction could also be directed at larger structures. The role of castle slighting during the Protectorate has been considered in significant detail elsewhere (Rakoczy 2007), and does not form part of the scope of this study. It is sufficient to note here that the reasons for such slighting, the meanings produced by these events of destruction and the relationship between local communities, owners of such castles and centralised authority were complex, and that such destruction was an explicitly meaningful act. The destruction of urban fortifications was similarly complex, but very different in character. Town walls appear to have been only rarely slighted or deliberately demolished; the term used in official documentation such as the House of Commons Journals is almost invariably ‘degarrisoning’, whereas castles were ‘slighted’. Atkin and Howes (1993, 37) refer to the demolition of Gloucester’s defences after the Restoration, but it is clear that this merely reflected the completion of the demolition of fortifications ordered during the Protectorate. It is rare that definite reference to a punitive or deliberate destruction of town walls is made, and even where such measures are evidenced, as at Colchester, these slights appear to have been half-hearted attempts which were never fully carried through.

Important as targeted destruction may have been for understanding cultural meaning, incidental damage appears to have made a greater physical impression on English towns. This could arise either from collateral or incidental damage caused during warfare, or from damage caused during the refortification of the town. Both resulted in disproportionate damage to the extramural suburbs around English towns. These

properties could, as at Colchester (Morant 1748, 68), be documented and mourned along with those which had lain within the walls, but more frequently, destruction of suburban properties did not receive the attention given to the more substantial properties within the walls. Whilst this may simply reflect the fact that suburbs were immediately outside the walls and were thus susceptible to damage through the clearance of fields of fire around fortifications or by the fighting itself, this observation returns us to the questions addressed in discussion of the selection of areas for fortification at Chapter 4. The destruction of suburban property reinforced the discourse of power and exclusivity suggested by the deliberate inclusion and exclusion of different elements of the town within lines of fortification.

Direct material evidence even for this type of destruction is hard to find, and where it can be found difficult to interpret. First, there are few sites where destruction resulting from warfare or clearance can be clearly demonstrated. Gloucester and Exeter provide the clearest such examples, and here specific structures can be identified as having been demolished immediately before the construction of or incorporated within new defences. At Gloucester, there is clear evidence for a mid 17<sup>th</sup>-century destruction horizon resulting from what appears to be the clearance of suburban properties and the wholesale quarrying of material from the cleared area (Atkin and Howes 1993, 26-7). This process, by definition, removed all traces of that which had been destroyed. At Colchester, evidence for destruction is more troubling. Three churches: St Martin's, St Mary's and St Botolph's, bear visible traces of damage suffered during the siege. The brick upper part of St Mary's tower forms a visible landmark which has retained local meaning as a result both of its prominence and the incongruity of the brick upper and ragstone and septaria lower construction of the tower. Elsewhere in the town, evidence for destruction is more difficult to ascertain. The Hythe and East Street, supposedly the

scene of bitter fighting, and home to both the celebrated Siege House and St Leonard's church, actually show little evidence of damage other than the musket ball marks in the structure of the siege house. Indeed, the survival of houses which pre-date the English Civil Wars is at its greatest in this part of the town. The Close in Newcastle is noted in Common Council minutes as having been particularly badly damaged, and a number of houses dating to the Protectorate are suggestive of damage, but the survival of late-medieval houses bearing little visible trace of damage or rebuilding demonstrates that the search for material evidence of destruction is fraught with difficulty.

The exploration of urban destruction during the English Civil Wars has helped to expose some of the nuances that have been lost by wider, statistical surveys such as Porter's assessment of the damage caused to English towns. I have also amplified the understanding of destruction as a meaningful act that underpins Rakoczy's work. Despite the evidential problems inherent in understanding destruction, this process remains inextricably linked to other material manifestations of warfare, and its fundamental importance to understanding the materiality of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century town is clear.

#### ***9.2.4 Developing an Understanding of English Urban Material Culture by Examining the Reconstruction of English Towns.***

The reconstruction of English towns following the English Civil Wars is inextricably bound up with wider cultural changes which underlay new conceptions of urban design and planning, as well as architecture. If fortification, warfare and destruction represent material manifestations of a culture undergoing fundamental and deep-rooted change, then reconstruction represents the emergence of new cultural discourse. These issues are discussed in detail at Chapter 7.

It is clear that domestic structures were amongst the first to be rebuilt. Information about these structures is generally unclear, and few such buildings survive. Where they do, these buildings are generally the houses of the wealthier members of urban society. There are some hints of a conscious desire to create a distinctively new form of building and planning. The houses built on the Newcastle quayside at The Close and Sandhill during the Protectorate are probably the best-preserved such group. These were the dwellings of wealthy merchants from the Puritan side of the town's elite, and the architecture follows a pattern of symmetry, order and uniformity that was explicitly rationalised by Jenison, the town's Puritan preacher, in the context of a specifically puritanical conception of scriptural and providential order; the conscious desire to recreate a City of God on earth. Gloucester's Bearland, of which little is known, appears to have been a speculative development that redeveloped, on a new street plan, land opened up by destruction (Atkin and Howes 1993, 27). Similar development is noted at Bristol's Castle Street (Russell 1995, 12). This type of planned redevelopment appears to have been rare immediately after the war, with tenurial complications preventing widespread and coordinated reconstruction. The ambition evident in the speculative reconstruction of Bearland can be seen with increasing frequency in the half-century following the Restoration (Borsay 1989). Some of these projects, as in post-Great Fire London, remained unrealised. Others, as at Winchester, were brought to fruition. The relationship between destruction and the desire to redefine urban space was probably opportunistic rather than systemic, but attempts were made to build anew out of destruction.

Accompanying the grand plans to realise a sense of coherent urban planning was the increasingly widespread adoption of a clearly defined architectural style. It is difficult to identify specific occasions where destruction in the Wars led to reconstruction in the

style of the architectural revolution of the later-17<sup>th</sup> century, though Bearland and the Newcastle Quayside hint at a more widespread phenomenon that is otherwise poorly understood. What can be said is that distinctive styles of ecclesiastical and, to a lesser extent, civic architecture matured over the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. As ever, the transition was not seamless, and Inigo Jones' classicising treatments of St Paul's Covent Garden and the Queen's Chapel and Greenwich remained - until after the Restoration - isolated examples to be contrasted with the consciously retrospective styles of The Charles Church, Plymouth, Holy Trinity, Staunton Harold and Holy Trinity, Berwick upon Tweed (Mowl and Earnshaw 1995). Both of the latter churches can be understood only in the context of the contested religious world of the Protectorate. It took the Restoration settlement, and the genius of Sir Christopher Wren, to provide a clear definition of what the Anglican church should look like. More fundamentally, the regularisation of the meetings and meeting places of 'non-conformist' Protestants, allowed for the development of a whole new material expression of a discourse that had formerly been suppressed.

The type of construction undertaken by the civic elites and collective groups within society is also fundamental to a conception of the material culture of Revolution. As town walls were irrevocably lost as functional military structures and as meaningful structures, English towns became demilitarised in practice and in self-image. Town walls were last repaired in any coordinated fashion shortly before the Second English Civil War, and after the Restoration, they were rarely even maintained, being incorporated instead into private buildings, or left to decay and be quarried for materials. The slighted sections of Colchester's town walls remain visible today, left to lie where the slighting was abandoned shortly after the siege. While it seems clear that relationships between the guilds and the town walls had begun to change before the



Wars, these associations were broken decisively after the war. Increasingly, guilds and associations built their own halls and meeting places. The loss of walls to neglect and demolition enabled new construction to expand beyond the conceptual limits of the town that had been set in the Middle Ages.

After the Wars, town fortification is notable by its almost complete absence. What appears instead, at first during the Protectorate in Scotland and Ireland, and later during the Restoration in England, was the creation of a network of Citadels, or garrisoned strongpoints built close to but standing apart from towns. There was a triple logic to these works; they provided a strategic military defence against external threats, principally Dutch naval raids on coastal towns and cities; they served as tactical defences for specific military or strategic installations, such as the Chatham Dockyards; and they allowed the authority of the Crown to be represented and reinforced within the Kingdom.

Before the Wars, citadels had been viewed with suspicion, and rumours of the construction of such features could be enough to provoke disorder. In popular mythology citadels were explicitly linked to the absolutist Catholic monarchies of Spain, and formed an element of a colonial rule that stood in direct contrast to the English models of Royal government and fortification. Initially, such works were clearly seen as suited to the problem of controlling a potentially hostile populace in the larger urban centres of Scotland and Ireland, but after the Restoration, the threat of Dutch attack on the harbours of the South and East coasts provided an opportunity to extend this type of control into England. Significantly, these citadels were not just spartan military constructions. Opportunities were taken to add architectural embellishments. Fort gateways, the most visible elements of these structures, were

lavished with decoration and ornament that projected the power and majesty of the restored monarchy. There is no doubt that these were contested structures. Sources describing the government's view at Hull (Foreman and Goodhand 1997) and the townspeople's reaction at Plymouth (Stoyle 1998) show both that the intentions behind these citadels were complex and that their construction inspired an equally complex reaction.

This projection of the power of government is central to any material understanding of the Revolution. It is difficult to draw any detailed conclusions about the nature of quasi-monarchical display during the Commonwealth, however. Set against Cromwell's avowed adoption of a 'Plain Style' of artistic expression were the lurid, but apparently little-exaggerated, descriptions of his ambition to an imperial style. Where evidence is available, the grammar of quasi-Royal display during the Protectorate appears to be consistent with that later adopted by the Restoration Monarchy.

The parallel development of a regular standing army, initially regiments of guards for the protection of the King's person, is central. Military authority was removed from an urban culture whose loyalty had been tested and found wanting, or at best questionable. In this sense, the English Revolution followed events in continental Europe, where the establishment of permanent garrisons in order to maintain central authority was very much a feature of the later Military Revolution.

#### ***9.2.5 Towards an Archaeological Conception of the English Revolution***

In terms of its material culture, the Wars are a difficult and surprisingly ephemeral period; they simply occupied too brief a period for a distinct material culture to emerge.

The artefacts of the English Civil Wars are largely indistinguishable from those belonging to the decades on either side of the war, and the traces of war itself can be

ambiguous. Dating evidence is rarely close enough to provide independent confirmation that a site lies within this very narrow range of dates. The material evidence of the Wars within English towns is thus surprisingly elusive. The paucity of the physical evidence of fortification, for example, seems to belie the detailed and extravagant descriptions put forward by contemporaries. Even allowing for poetic and rhetorical exaggeration and for the damaging effects of the later demolition of town walls or urban development and the difficulties of fieldwork within an urban or suburban context, these remains merely hint at the enormity of events. Material evidence of destruction also remains problematic. By its very nature, the act of destruction removes the material evidence of the act, and is frequently identifiable only through later myth and legend or inferred through later phases of reconstruction. We can see that things are no longer there or have apparently been replaced, but the timing, causes and mechanisms of destruction frequently remain inscrutable. A limited conception of archaeology acts as a significant constraint to further study, explaining the past neglect of the period.

This is not to argue that archaeological study of the Wars does not provide important information which helps us to understand the period; here understanding archaeology as the study of the past through its material culture allows the period to be better understood and to become a legitimate subject for archaeological study. Warfare comprises the organised and culturally regulated infliction of violence on people, objects and places, and is a fundamentally material act. Warfare is also a form of culturally determined movement, governed by tactics and strategy, which are in themselves material expressions of discourse. Warfare is also regulated by codes of behaviour, by assumptions of identity and an understanding of cultural differentiation, or otherness. When the material evidence is interrogated alongside the documentary and cartographic evidence, this interaction between culture and the material world becomes

informative. The selection of weapons of war, places of battle, targets of destruction, codes of conduct and even in defining the enemy are critical to understanding a culture (Herscher 2010; Carman 1999).

But ‘understanding’ the English Civil Wars is not an end in itself. The English Civil Wars were merely material manifestations of the much deeper cultural transformation understood here in terms of the English Revolution. Revolution is itself a difficult term; in the past, it has been variously championed and rejected for its Marxian connotations, or used to refer to specific stages (the replacement of the monarchy by the quasi-imperial Protectorate, for example, or any part of the entire period from the Personal Rule to the Glorious Revolution). The central point of this thesis is that the disruption caused by the Wars was the catalyst for a significant disjuncture in English urban material culture occurred somewhere in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century; this disjuncture was fundamental and long lasting; after the English Civil War, the English town was a different place, both as a physical space and as a conceptualised and inhabited place.

To put a specific date on this disjuncture is not possible. There are few changes that cannot be identified as either having had their origins before the Wars (and these are often particularly evident in the New World) or which were adopted more fully after the Restoration. But what can be said is that the English towns that emerged from the period of crisis after 1660 were different to those that had entered this period in around 1640.

One observation that has remained constant throughout this study is that material differentiation between the prime actors - whether they are defined by religious, political or any other allegiance - remains elusive. None of the manifestations of urban

material culture, investigated in this study demonstrate suggests that the material 'signature' of one group differed significantly from that of the other. While the 'small things forgotten' have been outside the scope of this thesis, I would suggest that similar conclusions could be drawn from analysis of the 'small' material culture of ceramic assemblages and domestic records. In her study of artefact assemblages from siege sites, Rachel Askew (pers. comm.) found no obvious differences in the assemblages of Parliamentarian and Royalist garrisons. Similarly, Heley's (2009) study of pre-English Civil War probate inventories in Newcastle found no clear material indications of religious or political alignment; the material culture of the urban elite of the town appears to have been remarkably consistent. However, Heley (2009) makes it clear that this possibility was not addressed through a comparison of named individuals with documented information about their religious or political beliefs, leaving a possibility that such differences may be visible. Some studies have attempted to determine cultural differentiation through traditions of fortification, characterised by 'collective' action on the part of the Parliamentarians, and a more 'professional' approach taken by the Royalists (O'Neil 1960, 83). These distinctions do not stand any detailed scrutiny, and no significant differences can be discerned. Likewise, no real difference in offensive tactics can be identified, even after the formation of the New Model Army. In terms of destruction, the principal causes of damage on either side appear to be as the result of deliberate 'defensive' or incidental 'collateral' damage. The war was clearly fought by two sides whose leadership, rank and file, and codes of conduct were drawn from the same cultural milieu. This is why an understanding of social interactions - the transcripts of revolution - are so important.

There are cases where the material culture evidence of cultural differentiation between the sides seems conclusive, as in Graves' (2009) study of Newcastle's Puritan elite

architecture, or in the construction of the churches of Holy Trinity at Berwick upon Tweed and Staunton Harold. Here, specific cultural discourses are presented, seemingly uncontroversially and unambiguously. That there was a contemporary discourse of separation is undeniable; clearly identity and self-representation were important to both sides, but an apparently clear discursive differentiation masks a remarkable underlying material commonality. It is instructive that discursive difference was expressed through material transcripts that were dependent upon context which allows their otherwise hidden meanings to be read. In effect, the same artefact could be read differently, and meaning could be variously inscribed. Without Jenison's sermons, we would be hard pressed to identify any demonstrably 'Puritan' features. Holy Trinity, Berwick-upon-Tweed and Charles' Church, Portsmouth share an architectural tradition with Shirley's 'defiant' estate church at Staunton Harold, and incorporate features such as galleries that were adopted in Wren's Anglican London churches of the later-17<sup>th</sup> century. At the same time, this identification depended on a complex and often unstable web of personal, political and religious alliances. The same material culture could be and was variously presented and explained. Any didactic message, or use in cultural production resided in the experience of the viewer, and these messages could be made deliberately obscure or ambiguous. Many fundamental cultural assumptions, such as the importance of order and precedence, were shared by most, if most all of the participants.

In a sense, this should come as no surprise; it is a commonplace of documentary history that the core beliefs of both sides of the English Civil Wars are almost impossible to define with any confidence, with the individuals who made up groups that could broadly be characterised as 'Royalist' or 'Parliamentarian' sharing diverse beliefs and aspirations, and these groupings being characterised by webs of shifting personal and collective alliances. The English Civil Wars were not clashes of cultures, but conflicts

within a changing culture. 9.3 To develop an Understanding of the Materiality of the Revolution.

***9.3.1 To Understand Disjunctions between the Archaeological Record, Documentary Sources and Mythology of Place and Event.***

As may be expected, there are a number of cases where the documentary and material records for the English Revolution do not entirely tally. Many of these can be explained simply by contingent factors of survival, visibility or record. Other aspects require more consideration, and it is clear that in many cases the documentary record reflects a different reading of the past than the material evidence. These disjunctures and divergences can be especially illuminating, once the effort is made to understand their origins and subsequent development (Hall 2000).

Disjunctures in the material and documentary record for fortification, destruction and reconstruction have been explored at Chapter 8, and have been alluded to above. But in order to understand why urban fortifications conformed neither to model of fortification as expressed in military handbooks nor to a stereotypical understanding of urban planning derived from modern theoretical literature; or why some sites of destruction became sites of memory, while others were condemned to a *damnatio memoriae*; or why both Puritans and Royalist Anglicans could build churches in the same architectural idiom, it is also necessary to understand the relationship between past and present.

It would be trite (and dangerous) to argue that the documentary record relates to history as the authors perceived it while the material record provides an objective documentation of the past. Yet it is important to recognise that it is the interaction between materiality and contemporary and historical conceptions of sites as recorded in

text and oral histories that makes these places so richly inscribed with meaning. In themselves, both materiality and text provide partial sources, each featuring wilful omissions, accidental lacunae, deliberate or incidental overstatement, or just simple errors and misunderstandings. Used together, however, as attempted in Chapter 8, material and documentary records provide loci for the weaving of intricate transcripts, laden with meaning for the many pasts that they embody and purport to inform (Scott 1990, Hall 1999).

The simple act of unravelling these transcripts, of interrogating the apparently obvious, is the key to understanding the material past of the Revolution, of past interaction with that material past, and indeed of understanding our own relationship with that past.

### ***9.3.2 To Explore the Concept of Destruction as a Culturally Meaningful Act, using Archaeological Observations and Contemporary and later Documentary Sources.***

Destruction is too often categorised as a purely negative act: the attempt to erase the material culture of an enemy, either as an act of proxy war against an opponent who cannot be attacked, or as a means of removing all traces of an opposed culture (Herscher 2010, 82). This is to miss the full meaning of material destruction, which can also form a positive, if violent, attempt to reclaim cultural property and to inscribe new meaning on material culture. In his exploration of this phenomenon in the Balkans of the 1990s, Herscher (2010) termed this process ‘warchitecture’. This conception, while drawn from a radically different cultural context, remains apposite here, and while primarily discussed at Chapter 6, has a significant bearing on the content of Chapter 8.

The iconoclastic travels of William Dowsing (Cooper 2001), like those of the earlier Protestant iconoclasts before him (Graves 2008) were not merely orgies of destruction to remove traces of popery. They were attempts to cleanse the established Protestant



churches of all that was not fit for the enactment of a new ritual order. This destruction was in a sense positive, preparing the churches for their reformed purpose. In the same sense, we can see the reuse of Goring's wall hangings as uniforms for the Parliamentary army (Stoyle 1998) as the reappropriation of material culture.

Just as importantly, the damage caused during the war to the English urban fabric provided opportunities to develop anew, as on the Newcastle Quayside and within Gloucester's Bearland, opportunities to repair and restore the old, as in the refitting of Lichfield Cathedral, or to quietly ignore and leave to decay relics of an urban past that no longer reflected the needs of the culture that emerged from the Revolution. The failure to restore St Botolph's in Colchester at any point over almost two centuries - until the town had increased several times in size and a national campaign of church building was underway - must be seen in this context.

Even urban destruction that was not deliberately targeted offers fertile ground for understanding contemporary culture. Archaeological perceptions of this type of damage are best summed up by the phrase - which became (in)famous during the first Gulf War of 1991 - 'collateral damage'. Now, as then, this dismissal rings false, not just from a humanitarian point of view, but from a more consciously distanced archaeological view. Destruction remains destruction, regardless of motivation. The hardest hit areas were those immediately outside the fortifications: the suburbs of the town. In some cases, attempts were made to protect these areas, but in others, the suburbs were subject to destruction from both sides, as attackers fired on the town walls, fought running battles with defenders or undermined buildings. The defenders frequently fired or demolished suburban houses that could shelter the approach of an enemy or provide cover for mining operations (Atkin and Howes 1993, Porter 1994). This type of destruction

derived primarily from the exclusion of suburban areas from urban defence - in itself a deliberate action - and the selection of towns as battlegrounds and military targets.

Destruction was possibly the most powerful and dramatic material act to evidenced in the Wars, and despite the substantial evidential problems, offers valuable opportunities for studying material expressions of cultural meaning, not just in terms of an understanding of violence directed at the material culture of an enemy as a form of proxy war, but as a culturally meaningful act, whether that violence was a deliberate and wanton act of destruction, or ‘merely’ incidental to military action.

### ***9.3.3 To Analyze the Self-Representation of Communities and Cultural Elites during the Revolution.***

This thesis has explored the perceptual and conceptual importance of urban defences to English towns. At Chapter 4, I suggested that defences were regarded as important as part of a deliberately archaising world view that stressed the primacy of precedence and order. This stress was based, ironically, on the relative youth of the urban culture that entered the Revolution, which had developed over the century between the Reformation and the Revolution. The modes of material expression of the urban elite of the later-16<sup>th</sup> and early-17<sup>th</sup> centuries had been made possible only by the collapse of the Catholic Church within England, and the patterns of expenditure that became necessary as demonstrations of wealth and prestige; the changing nature of this self-representation is explored further in Chapters 7 and 8.

While urban fortifications, as at Colchester, and indeed in Newcastle, had frequently been neglected and allowed to fall into disrepair in the years leading up to the Wars, they remained powerful conceptual barriers. After the Wars, however, town walls and urban fortifications ceased to be part of the repertoire of civic elite self-representation.

Walls were not just militarily redundant; they appear to have fallen from the consciousness of late 17<sup>th</sup>-century English urban culture. Gray's (1649) description of the walls of Newcastle marks the final celebration of these monuments as an element of urban identity, and then in a specific attempt to link the city into an explicit discourse of loyalty to the crown (de Groot 2003). With a very small number of exceptions local historians or writers no longer remarked on town walls except as monuments to a more troubled past. New times required new expressions of cultural identity.

Many of the elements of civic expenditure characterising the urban culture that emerged from the Revolution were not unprecedented. They include civic building, and symmetrical and classical architecture. Examples of both predate the Revolution (Tittler 1991) and it is important to remember that most of Inigo Jones' long career pre-dated the Civil War (Mowl and Earnshaw 1995, 28-30), but the extent to which civic building and Classicism were adopted after the Civil War dwarfed that of earlier years.

The reasons for the collapse of urban fortification has been expounded at some length above. Effectively, the new citadels constructed by the Protectorate and the Restoration monarchy established a governmental monopoly on military authority. This was not only significant for its effects on the self-representation of urban communities, it also formed part of a wider change in (quasi) monarchical self-expression.

Both Cromwell and Charles II adopted an explicitly imperial material culture of government. Cromwell simultaneously cultivated a 'plain style' of expression, most famously expressed in his apocryphally reported desire to be painted 'warts and all' and a reported aspiration to the title of Augustus (Armitage 1992, 532). The actions of the protectorate in Ireland and Scotland, in creating a network of citadels, works previously

explicitly associated with the Catholic Spanish occupation of the Low Countries, fits with a more imperial aspiration.

The Restoration monarchy also developed new forms of self expression. The martyr-cult of Charles I remained primarily intellectual and spiritual, but carefully selected material expressions which alluded to this cult were constructed. The most celebrated of these is the statue of Charles in Charing Cross, occupying a site rich in historical associations, embracing the medieval Kings of England, the execution of Charles I and the final punishment of the regicides. This statue was positioned at the core of the new governmental hub of the Restoration monarchy at Whitehall. A grand Mausoleum was planned, but the scheme was never fully implemented. Charles II was portrayed in a statue (and, indeed, in a number of later monuments around the Cathedral Close) at Lichfield Cathedral, a site he was instrumental in repairing. These representational changes were borne out of a number of factors; including Charles II's (apparently) deliberately ambiguous religious self-image, a need to recognise the reaffirmed role of Parliament while emphasising the identification of the monarch and the nation, and the fundamental problem of bringing together an increasingly disparate nation which was simultaneously developing a unified identity.



**Figure 9.1 The statue of Charles II at Lichfield Cathedral**

The changing self-representational strategies of urban elites and government point towards a significant underlying cultural change, linked with both a changing relationship between the state and local communities and with change within those local elites and communities. It is arguable that this cultural change was, to a greater extent, forced upon urban elites by successive attempts to centralise financial and military authority; so much is true, but what is significant for this study is the changing transcript that developed from the altered relationship.

#### ***9.3.4 To Understand the Material Legacies of Conflict.***

The selection and curation of a site of memory is an act that is explicitly laden with meaning. Such sites are chosen deliberately to convey specific meanings, which are preserved or altered through subsequent curation and use.

The site of the martyrdom of Lucas and Lisle was selected to relate the town of Colchester directly to a narrative of loyalty and honour. The chosen site lay just outside the castle, and allowed the heroism of Lucas, the local martyr, to be highlighted against the perfidious and arbitrary judgement of Fairfax. The story that the grass would not grow on the site of the ‘crime’ is not an unfamiliar trope of hagiographic writing, but it is important to note that attention was thereby deflected from other sites of memory that could have become connected to the Lucas myth, specifically his tomb in St Giles’ Church or the family home in the former Abbey of St John. Commemoration of either of these sites would have been awkward in the attempt to demonstrate loyalty to the Crown, with the town’s involvement in the plundering of the house and the desecration of the family vault in St Giles’.

Subsequent reworking of the myth dropped the more ‘superstitious’ elements of the story, but Lucas and Lisle remained no less martyrs. Indeed, their fate was progressively romanticised and expounded to fit a prevailing discourse of manliness that fitted the needs of the Imperial Britain of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. At the same time, other sites of memory were variously curated (the ‘Siege House’) or neglected (St Botolph’s Priory). The selection of the place of Lucas and Lisle’s martyrdom was determined by a conscious desire to align the town with a discourse of loyalty in the years after the Restoration. Not all sites of memory were so deeply politicised. Some, like the site of the Digger’s occupation of St George’s Hill, came to prominence long after the

Revolution politicised more for their meaning in the present than for any informative value they might hold for understanding the past. In this case of St George's Hill, there has been little active curation, and the dominant discourses of the wealthy residents, the estate management and the golf course which occupy the site, exhibit no identifiable realisation of this significance. To groups of alternative and left-leaning activists, the site's potency is retained despite - even enhanced by - it being occupied by the mansions and playground of the wealthy

### ***9.3.5 The Material Narratives of the English Revolution***

There are a number of sites around England which have become sites of memory for actions during the Revolution, primarily related to events of the English Civil War.

Many of these sites are linked to destruction, a trope that also appears within subsequent popular literary and oral traditions, where Cromwell appears as the mythical destroyer of Castles (Fox 2000, 255-7). As noted by Rakoczy (2007), the slighted castles became significant elements within the perceptual landscape; the meaning of 'destruction', being challenged. These were no longer habitable or defensible structures, but their sheer materiality ensured that they remained, and remain, important sites of memory.

Within an urban context, sites of memory again focus on destruction during the war, but the selection of such sites, either for commemoration or for rejection, either in a conscious act of *damnatio memoriae* or through neglect, has been a complex issue. As I have previously noted at Chapter 6, destruction, by its very nature, creates an absence rather than a presence with difficult implications for architectural study, but the paradox considered at Chapter 8 is that narratives of destruction can develop on surviving material foci. The complexities of this process can clearly be seen at Colchester. The most obvious candidates for commemoration here - St Botolph's Priory and St John's

Abbey - remain largely unremarked. The hulking presence of the ruined Priory Church at St Botolph's reminds us that the selection of such sites is not predicated on visibility or monumentality. It was never rebuilt, and the institution of the new parish church on the adjacent site appears to have taken place with no commemoration or consideration of the circumstances in which the previous church had been destroyed. Contemporary accounts of the siege make little mention of this destruction, and were it not for the ruins themselves, this episode could be (and frequently is) overlooked. The destruction of the Lucas house at St John's Abbey and the family tombs at St Giles' Church were never commemorated. The memorial to Sir Charles Lucas in St Giles', one of the few individual funerary monuments of the period, was briefly controversial after the Restoration, but its presence within a family church meant that it never gained any real public prominence. The ruined Abbey Gate was rebuilt in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but never became more than a rarely-visited curiosity; the link to Lucas was not highlighted. Whether through a desire to heal the wounds of the past, or draw attention from an episode, inconvenient in the context of the Restoration, the cult of the martyrdom of Lucas and Lisle was centred within the town walls and rather than on the Abbey and the material connection to Lucas' family roots. In this way, the town became explicitly linked with a discourse of loyalty and honour.

Locales that were selected as sites of memory are equally complex. The Siege House at East Bridge and St Leonard's at the Hythe display, almost four centuries later, a remarkable degree of preservation. The marks of conflict may be there, but the survival of so many structures which pre-date the revolution in these areas reminds us that the creation of a site of memory is predicated firstly on the need to identify a tangible relict of destruction. The church tower of St Mary-at-the-Walls, similarly shows the marks of conflict, but these traces are seen only in negative. The damage is not visible; what can



be seen is the repair. The curation of a site of memory is also critical to its meaning. These meanings develop and mutate over time. It is hardly coincidental that the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw a resurgence in interest in the didactic messages that could be drawn from the Wars; in a period where towns were beginning to develop new and restored political responsibilities, and new cultural discourses relating to national identity and the nation's relationship with the monarch were developing, academic, political and popular interest in the Wars, particular the English Civil Wars took on an increasing didactic role. Lucas and Lisle became exemplars of a particularly English form of manliness, based on duty, honour and self-sacrifice.

As cultural discourse becomes increasingly removed from that which prevailed at the time of their institution, these sites become monuments to the reconstruction and development of urban culture. It may be a truism to suggest that sites of memory such as St Mary-at-the-Walls have more to tell us about ourselves than the past, but it is only through an understanding of the past that we can truly understand this development of meaning.

#### **9.4 Reading the English Revolution in the Context of Post-1492 Historical Archaeology**

##### ***9.4.1 To Set the Material Culture of the Revolution within the Theoretical Framework of Historical Archaeology.***

In a sense, this is the critical conception underpinning the present thesis. I have attempted to avoid a simplistic mapping of Americanist conceptions of historical archaeology directly into the England of the mid-17th century, but similarly, it seems unwise to discard the observations of scholars working to understand what are essentially different manifestations of connected cultural discourses in a variety of different contexts and locations (compare Hall 1999, 3-6). To return to my

understanding of historical archaeology (Chapter 3), the defining characteristics of the discipline are that it is: anthropological; theory-driven; global; analytical; and politicised.

These characteristics were selected in opposition to those which still define British (and European: see Courtney 2009) post-medieval archaeology, and they are perhaps overstated, but they serve to provide a characterisation of the approach employed throughout this work. In this sense, my initial appraisal of Orser's 'four haunts' of Historical Archaeology – these being Eurocentrism, Colonialism, Capitalism and Modernity - remains valid. I have drawn on Deetz' fundamentally structuralist conception of culture and the appearance of the Georgian, and have worked with experiential and interpretive theoretical perspectives, particularly as articulated (and integrated with a cultural perspective) by Martin Hall (2000, 43-54). The true utility of these theoretical approaches is that they facilitate an engagement with the material culture of the past that goes beyond the superficial and text-defined military history agenda that has for too long dominated 'archaeological' studies of the English Revolution. Understanding social, economic and political interaction within its cultural context allows for a genuine analysis of the culture of the Revolution. In seeking to understand the contribution of the English Revolution to the cultures of English Colonialism, I have addressed the global, and to an extent, the politicised, nature of the discipline. While studies of the period are no longer overtly politicised in the manner of the Whig historians of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, or even of the Marxists of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century or the Revisionists of the 1980s, the issues at stake remain relevant - as demonstrated by the continuing survival of the material myths of the Revolution and the power of place

in the mythical histories of the Levellers and Diggers that continue to develop and be developed (Chapter 8).

Regardless of the validity and utility of any specific theoretical perspective, what is significant is that I have attempted, at each stage to foreground the materiality of the English Revolution. The key methodological lesson of post-1492 historical archaeology is that the material culture evidence, the archaeology, must come first and must be understood in its own right. Documentary material is important for helping us to understand the materiality of the past, but when promoted to the position of prime driver of the research agenda and of the narrative, results in an entirely different approach. It has been my intention throughout my research that this focus on materiality should be the key; if my research cannot hope to be more than a deeply selective and personal view of the English Revolution, at least it can offer an archaeologically grounded understanding that can be read and understood as such. Where I have used documentary material, it has been to understand the materiality of the Revolution; at some points to fill in gaps in what is (or can be) known from the artefacts and places which I have considered, at others to provide a context for how an object was used or understood.

#### ***9.4.2 To Understand the Wider Cultural Context of the English Revolution.***

Historical archaeologists from Deetz onwards (1977) have emphasised the importance of colonialism to the development of the modern world. To many, such as Orser (1996) or Hall (1999) the development of empire and the contact between European and indigenous cultures in the New World and Africa defines the parameters of the discipline. The colonial context is important; there are certain key themes that must be understood, not only to set the English Revolution in its wider context, but also to understand the true cultural significance of the Revolution.

It can be argued that the English Civil Wars were caused by the Irish Rising/Rebellion of 1641; the drain on the Exchequer forcing the King to recall a hostile Parliament at the same time as an alienated Scottish nobility sought to preserve religious and political independence. More importantly from a cultural perspective, the Irish Plantations of Munster and in particular Ulster marked the first concerted attempts to create English colonies. The model for these colonies, or plantation towns and villages was mercantile. Towns were created on the English model, supported by a hinterland of planted villages. Land was allocated to 'undertakers' who undertook to settle migrants and develop an agricultural economy. Funding for the Ulster project was secured through the mercantile companies of the City of London, after whom Londonderry, the largest of the new towns, was renamed. The larger plantation towns were replicas of idealised English towns: and they were walled towns. Most, while planned, were not laid out on the theatrical or geometric basis that became more frequent in the second half of the century. The structures of government put in place in the Irish plantations were those that had been developed in English towns. The towns struggled to attract either the investment or the support to develop as economic entities, and opportunities for organic or planned growth beyond the initial schemes (or in some cases into the planned schemes) was restricted. The long-term success of these enterprises was mixed; the plantation villages were quickly overrun during the early stages of the Irish Rising/Rebellion, but the towns survived, and became centres within the Ulster that emerged from the Revolution at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Butlin 1977b).

Once it is accepted, as argued above, that urban form is a material expression of culture, then these colonial towns can be understood as material expression of the culture of the Revolution itself. If the towns of the Ulster Plantation were modelled on English towns that had developed during the medieval period, it could be expected that the towns of

the American and Caribbean colonies were closer to those that were reconstructed during and after the Revolution. This was a point made in a slightly different form by Audrey Horning, whose 1995 thesis sought to understand the development of Jamestown in the context of contemporary English urban design and planning. But just as Jamestown's development cannot be understood without reference to the English context, the English towns of the New World similarly offer unique insights into English towns at home. The Americas offered opportunities for urban planning unconstrained by tenurial considerations. It was not until the late-18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries that English towns could be successfully replanned on the scale envisaged for London after the Great Fire, or on forms such as those envisaged and at least partially implemented at St Mary's City (Miller 1988), and even then complete or partially complete schemes, such as Bath or Grainger's Newcastle upon Tyne (Ayris 1999) are remarkable for their rarity. Interestingly, the cultural origins of the settlers influenced the form of these colonial towns in subtle ways. Within the royal colonies of the Chesapeake urban form was influenced by the difficulties in maintaining anything approximating to an urban centre arising from the dispersed settlement pattern necessitated by the cultivation of tobacco. Where attempts to set up towns can be identified, as at Jamestown, a basic planned settlement with regular and allocated plots of land can be identified. Similarly in both Catholic Maryland and Puritan New England, urban settlements were constructed on a carefully planned geometric basis. What differed was the articulation of these designs, whether in a conscious separation of religion and government planned to represent Catholic conceptions of the Trinity (as at St Mary's City), or as regular and uniformly ordered Puritan towns harking back to the design of Solomon's Jerusalem (as found in New England: Archer 1975). The same is true in England, and indeed, across Europe, where a remarkably consistent form of

geometric and theatrical town plan developed despite profound and often violently articulated cultural and religious differences. The uniform frontages of Commonwealth Newcastle (Graves 2009) are more closely allied to the baroque and classicising frontages of Restoration London or Bath (Borsay 2006) than the discourses of Godly order that rationalised these schemes might suggest.

The changing nature of urban fortifications is also important in understanding the English Revolution. I have already noted the sudden disappearance of enclosing urban walls in England during the Protectorate, and remarked on the centralisation of military authority and the construction of military fortifications, or Citadels, outside a number of English port cities. These citadels had been a feature of continental European towns, particularly those under the imperial control of the absolutist Catholic monarchs. The Irish plantation towns were walled. The villages were protected by bawns, or central fortified farmsteads which, in the event, proved completely insufficient for the purposes for which they were designed (Blades 1986). In demilitarising English towns, central government sought to exercise military authority over, rather than through, urban communities. The apparently puzzling Barbadian constructions advanced by Loftfield (2001) as creolised fortifications are more constructively seen in comparison with the fortifications thrown up by urban communities at the beginning of the English Civil Wars. These fortifications were the work of a colonial society that had tried to remain detached from the crisis that engulfed its home country, and which, through distance and the weakness of that central government, distracted by more pressing issues, retained their independence in a way that English towns could not.

What is clear is that the discourses of the English Revolution were, by virtue of the already extensive British colonial project, exported beyond England. Deetz' (1977)

conception of a period of regionalised ‘folk’ manifestations representing hangovers from a medieval world view, is fallacious. The English who arrived at Jamestown in 1607 were not ‘medieval’; their culture was changing, and the debates which came to shape the American colonies were developing. Still less were the founders of Annapolis; this was a town on a new model that reflected the contemporary discourse of English urban culture. What is significant is that colonialism offered an opportunity to produce urban material culture in a form that was relatively untrammelled by the constraints of the past, yet was still distinctively English.

#### **9.4.3 *The English Revolution as Historical Archaeology***

The centrality of the English Revolution to historical archaeology has been neglected to the detriment of conceptions of the period and to conceptions of the emergence of the modern world. The totality of this failure and its significance cannot be overstated; The clearest articulation of any sense of disconnect was Johnson’s (1996) *An Archaeology of Capitalism*, which sought to bridge the gap between American and British archaeology, noting that:

*...changes in seventeenth-century England prefigure and throw into perspective those discussed by Deetz and others in eighteenth-century New England and Chesapeake... the irony is that the patterns these scholars consider to be ‘medieval’ or ‘pre-Georgian’ are from this perspective post-medieval or indicative of a move towards the flowering of Georgian principles (Johnson 1996, 177).*

Johnson’s (2006) reiteration of this critique retained the central irony that he himself ignored the critical importance of the English Revolution. *An Archaeology of Capitalism* contains a single reference to Cromwell (Johnson 1996, 58), and whilst reference is made to the ‘little commonwealth’ of the home, there is no discussion of the experiment with republicanism (Johnson 1996, 156-7). The ‘little commonwealth’ is a

fundamentally important theme, and one to which I shall return, but the Revolution remains significant by its absence from Johnson's work, addressed only very briefly in *English Houses* (2010). This omission is all the more problematic given that Johnson effectively identifies the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century as the tipping point between his view of the predominantly English period of cultural change and closure that followed the Reformation, and the globalised world of the modern. The reasons for this omission are not clear, but are hinted at in *English Houses* (2010, 199), where Johnson critiques Marxist conceptions of the English Revolution and looks to the industrial period made possible by slavery as the tipping point in the creation of a modern British identity. It is arguable that the Wars, a short period with a material culture that remains elusive, is not relevant to the grand narratives of Modernity, Empire and Capital, but this is to avoid the issue. Whilst the turmoil, variety and conflict within the 'imperial' culture remain peripheral to an understanding of cultural change predicated on the encounter between colonists and colonised, between slave and free, powerful and powerless, that discursive tension cannot be adequately understood. The central failing of Deetz (1996), as of Orser (2004) and Hall (2000), and indeed Johnson (2010) and Tarlow (2007) is that they ignore the English Revolution and its impact not only upon America and the British Colonies, but also within England.

## **9.5 Towards the Archaeology of Revolution**

### ***9.5.1 Towards a Research Agenda***

The Archaeology of the English Revolution remains a topic that is, to a great extent, unexplored. Many aspects of the period remain difficult to understand or have not been addressed in this study. In seeking to set out a coherent vision of the period based on the material culture of the Revolution, a number of other problems have arisen. These are



outwith the scope of this study, but are germane, and in some cases important to a fuller understanding of this vision.

### ***9.5.2 The Small Things***

The most pressing issue is the matter of the ‘small’ material culture of the Revolution. Material assemblages of this date have rarely been subject to detailed study which has sought to draw conclusions about the social and cultural world of the Revolution, particularly within the ‘little commonwealth’ of the home. Exceptions include the material from Basing House, published over two issues of *Post-Medieval Archaeology* (Moorhouse 1970 and 1971, complemented by the later fieldwork published by Allen and Anderson in 1999), and the work of Rachel Askew in studying assemblages from siege contexts at Pontefract (Askew, in preparation). Much of this material is ambiguous or problematic; certainly, attempts to define a material culture of Puritanism or Royalism have been unsatisfying and where tested, have not stood up to enquiry (Askew pers. comm.; Heley 2009). Chris King’s (2006) doctoral thesis on the households of Norwich is possibly the only study of the ‘small’ urban culture of this period, but does not address the issue of differentiation, looking rather at change over time. This much appears unsurprising in the light of the development of the ‘large’ material culture of the built environment that has been my subject, but it would be instructive to determine whether the apparent similarities in material culture noted herein extend to the ‘small things’, and to investigate whether, and how the transcripts woven around these objects varied between different religious, political and national groups.

The materiality of Royalty and government is an issue that I have considered through monumental construction, but elements of the ‘small things’ such as coinage,

medallions, and ceramics could also be used to understand monarchical (and quasi-monarchical) display. In this context, it is worth noting that the mythical figure of Britannia first appeared on British coinage in 1672, with a figure based on the Britannia medals minted in 1664 to commemorate victories over the Dutch. Similarly, an understanding of the (potentially brief) history of the relics of Charles I, including the handkerchiefs dipped in his blood after his execution, would make an interesting counterpoint to Tarlow's (2008) biography of Cromwell's head.

A number of factors such as disruption to manufacture, distribution and consumption of material goods are likely to have left some trace on the material record of the Wars (Atkin and Howes 1993, 23), and a better understanding of patterns of consumption and manufacture would allow for a more sophisticated understanding of the economic effects of the Wars. Over the longer term, issues of cultural preferences ('taste') should, in theory come to have a greater bearing on patterns of production and consumption. In this sense, understanding change over time could be a more productive avenue for research than any attempt to understand cultural or religious differentiation. In that changing patterns of trade and exchange both within Europe and between Britain and the colonies is generally accepted as having substantial influence on the changing patterns of consumption in England, this represents an opportunity to site the English Revolution more firmly into its wider context.

One aspect of material culture that I have not considered at all is funerary monuments. Gravestones were a fundamental building block in Deetz' formulation of the Georgian World View, and typological studies of monuments have proved to be fertile grounds for study in Ireland (Mytum 2004), Scotland (Tarlow 1999) and Victorian England (Buckham 1999). It is true that there is a remarkable dearth of contemporary

monuments to the dead of the English Civil Wars (the memorial to Sir Charles Lucas in St Giles' Church at Colchester being a notable exception) but in the context of understanding the cultural change of the revolution, longitudinal studies are likely to prove valuable. In particular, documented ecclesiastical changes reflecting the growth of Laudian Anglicanism before the Wars, the brief experiment with an established Presbyterian church and toleration during the Protectorate (not forgetting the return of a Jewish population to London). The growth of an uneasy toleration after 1662 could be expected to be visible within the material record. Beyond a purely English study; comparison with the American evidence would be instructive; a point which leads me to my next point of inquiry.

#### ***9.5.4 The Stuart Country House***

In any understanding of the Georgian World View, architecture, symmetry and design loom large. While the characterisation of wider architectural change as a topdown process led by elite fashion has been comprehensively critiqued (Johnson 1993, 2010), changing modes of expression and use of space within elite architecture have the potential to provide an understanding of the changing cultural world of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Palladianism (characterised by the same attention to symmetry, order and rhythm that later characterised the 'Georgian') grew to dominate the architectural world of the grand houses of Britain's elites during the late-17<sup>th</sup> century. As with so many of the apparent material manifestations of the Revolution, Palladianism was not entirely new in its conception, but the scale and ubiquity of its execution went beyond anything that had been seen before. Importantly, elite houses were built during the Protectorate, and the rather ambiguous figure of Inigo Jones was the leading practitioner of the new style, working for Puritan and Royalist alike on private houses during the Protectorate in addition to his more celebrated Royal commissions from before the Wars (Mowl and

Earnshaw 1995, 25-6). Again, material distinctions between Royalist and Parliamentarian seem to be absent in the light of even the most cursory study. The wealth of documentary evidence provided by contemporary documentary sources, not least the topographic poetry such as Marvell's *Upon Appleton House* (c. 1654), however, provides opportunities to understand the more nuanced meanings of elite houses (Skelton 2009), and the retreat to the countryside that was so often (though not necessarily so in Fairfax's case at Appleton House) a sign of Royalist sympathies (Pittock 1991, 11).

#### ***9.5.5 Improvement and The English Revolution***

The final theme in my rather idiosyncratic suggestions for further research is in understanding the relationship of the English Revolution with the discourse of Improvement. Tarlow's (2007) study of the archaeology of Improvement rose from a desire to understand how the archaeology of 'later historic' Britain could develop as a distinctive discipline. In taking a start date of 1750 for her view of a defining characteristic of British culture, leaving a century from the end of what might be defined as the 'archaeology of closure', which Johnson closed at around 1660. What is significant about Tarlow's characterisation of Improvement, nonetheless, is that she identifies the discourse of Improvement as having commenced in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century (Tarlow 2007, 15). Admittedly, it was not the defining discourse of this period, becoming a dominant, potentially the defining, British cultural discourse in the later-18<sup>th</sup> century, but it must be remembered that the movement towards enclosure and agricultural improvement is also a phenomenon of the 17<sup>th</sup> century; the period of Vermuyden's drainage of the fens (itself a contributing factor to the radicalisation of the East Anglian gentry of the Long Parliament) and of private (rather than the more thoroughly documented Parliamentary) enclosure. Much of the urban reconstruction

that I considered in Chapter 7 could be seen in the context of a nascent discourse of Improvement. As with the Americanist tradition to which *The Archaeology of Improvement* was a necessary response, the question of origins, of causation, is one that needs further explanation; an explanation that is inextricably linked with the discourses of the English Revolution.

#### ***9.5.6 The material myths of the Revolution***

Following up the biographies of just a few of the many sites associated with the Revolution has been instructive, and possibly the most useful part of this research for understanding the material transcripts of the Revolution. The sites of memory that I selected in Chapter 8 represents a very small sample of the possible opportunities for this type of biographical study, but demonstrates the depth of the connection with the past provided by these sites, the interaction of local and national issues and the importance of a contextual approach to understanding the material legacy of the Revolution. There are many other sites with histories and associations that are every bit as revealing, as mythic and as meaningful as the church of St Mary-at-the-Walls, the walls of the Maiden City or St George's Hill. One such site is the (since demolished) King Charles House in Shieldfield, Newcastle upon Tyne. This 17<sup>th</sup>-century house has been claimed as King Charles' residence in the town after his surrender to the Scots in 1646 and the adjacent Shieldfield Green the site of his occasional games of golf (Charlton 1885).



**Figure 9.2 King Charles House, Newcastle, seen shortly before its demolition in 1967 in front of the tower block of the same name (Newcastle Libraries)**

## **9.6 Conclusion**

The English Revolution remains complex, and to some extent is still the ‘unexplained Revolution’ of Elton’s (1974) pithy summation. Much of that which characterises the material culture of the later 17<sup>th</sup>-century is present before the Revolution. In this sense, the Revolution may best be seen as both the product of a cultural shift and the catalyst for accelerating that cultural change. Adopting a material cultural approach to the period has permitted an insight into the tangled world of the Revolution, even if the findings remain tentative and potentially unrepresentative. What is clear is that the material culture of the Revolution is as complex and nuanced as the events, the beliefs and the politics of the period. There are no simple material distinctions between Royalist and

Parliamentarian; and this is the key to understanding this period. Indeed, this is an observation that carries an important lesson for archaeologists of any period. The material world of the English Revolution reminds us that cultural distinctions were articulated not through simple arguments of stone or material statements, but in more complex transcripts of power, allegiance, belief, precedence and order. These transcripts could be stated unambiguously, as was the case in Jenison's sermons, finding a didactic message of Godly order in the uniform frontages of Newcastle's streets (Graves 2009). Yet an examination of those facades finds no distinctive material symbols or 'signature' of that Godly order. Meaning lay - and lies - not so much in the material world as in the rationalisation of that world. This polyvalency can be understood through contextual and interpretive approaches, but it is indicative of the character of the Revolution. The relationship between culture and agency is fundamental. The English Revolution was not a battle between different cultures. The prime actors of the Revolution were working within a clearly defined cultural context; this is apparent from the uniformity of material culture and the acceptance of specific forms of material expression, but it was also a culture that was changing, and rapidly.

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